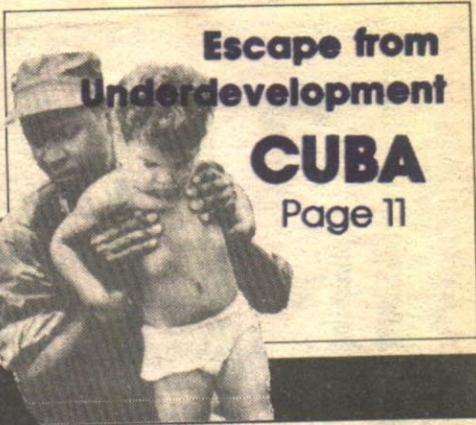


# IN THESE TIMES

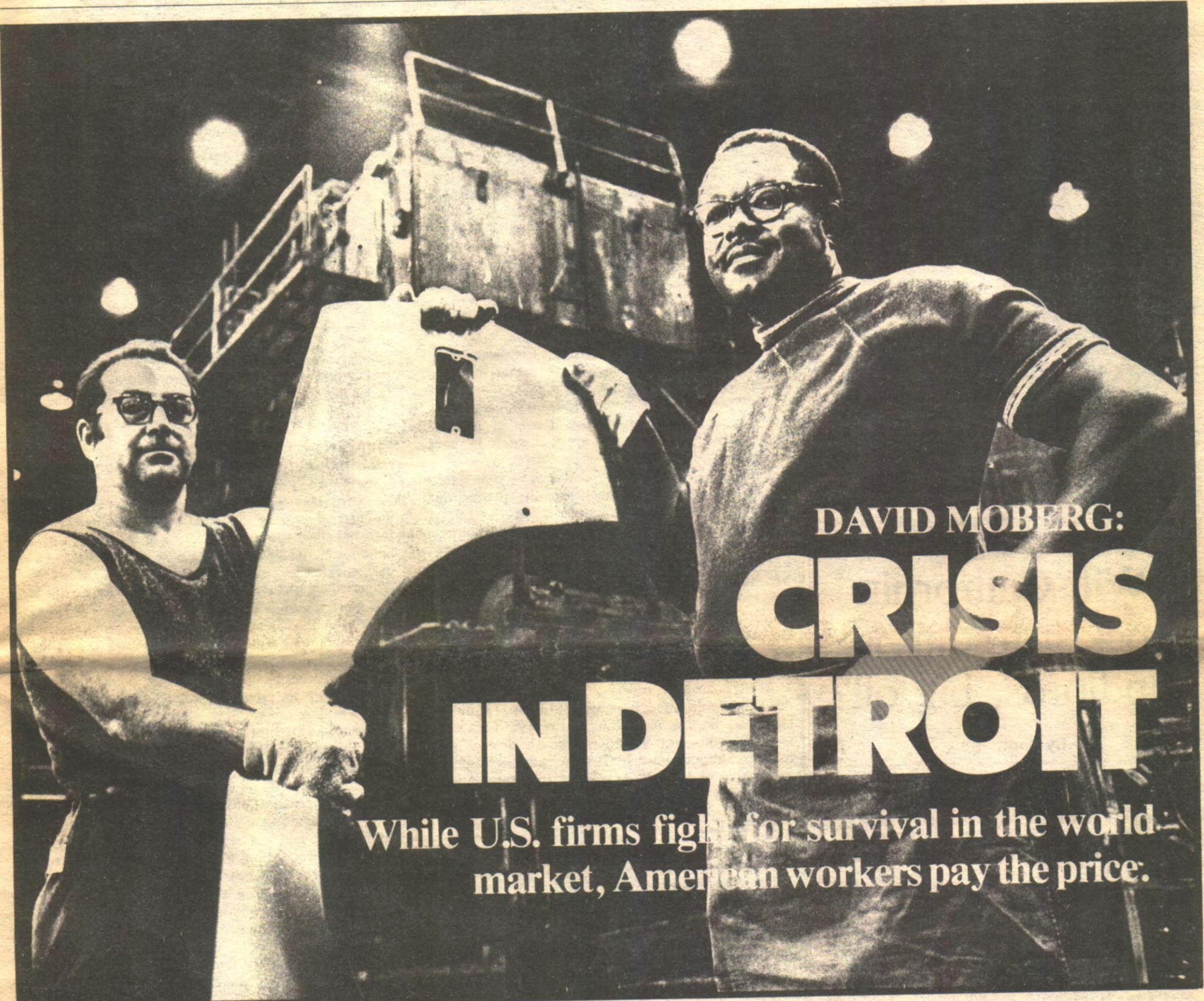


Escape from  
Underdevelopment  
**CUBA**  
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VOL. 4, NO. 26

MAY 28-JUNE 3, 1980

75 CENTS



DAVID MOBERG:  
**CRISIS  
IN DETROIT**

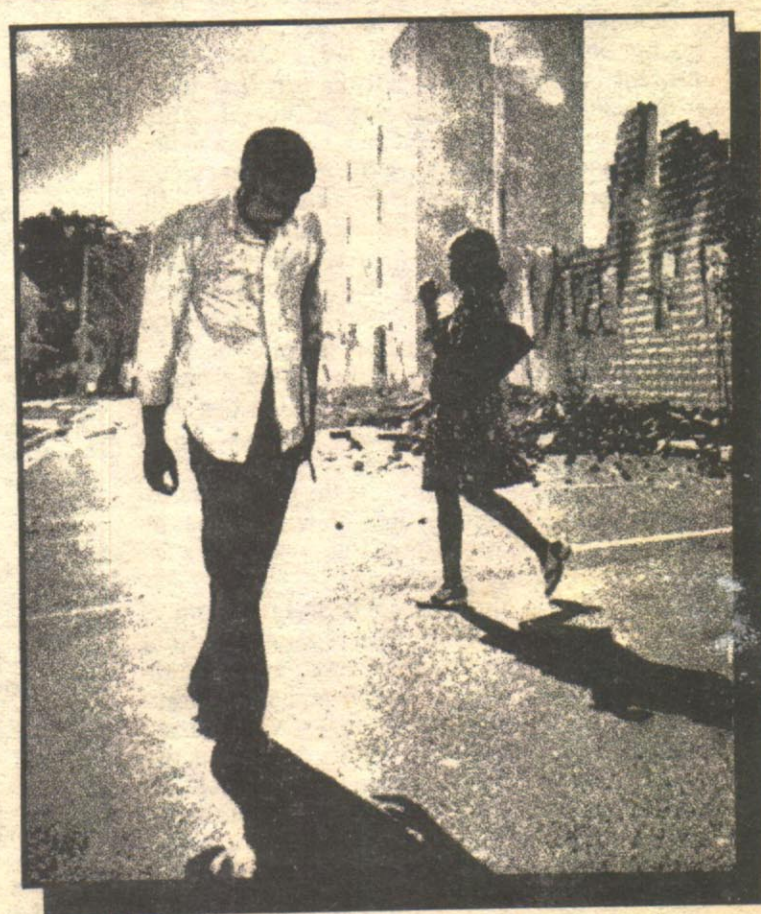
While U.S. firms fight for survival in the world market, American workers pay the price.

Earl Dotter

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Report from  
**MIAMI**

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Wide World



# THE INSIDE STORY



Howard Jarvis' latest tax-reduction scheme, Prop. 9, is fast losing support.

## Will California stick it to Jarvis, landlords, big oil?

By John Judis

SAN FRANCISCO

"I've been a taxpayer for 40-odd years, Mr. Jarvis. Why don't you leave California, leave our state alone?" an irate woman asked Howard Jarvis, the sponsor of Proposition 13 and now Proposition 9, at a Sacramento speech.

"I'll tell you, why don't you go to Nevada in a house they have there," Jarvis replied, referring to the legalized houses of prostitution that flourish across California's border.

Jarvis has become increasingly testy as his latest initiative, which would cut California's income tax by 50 percent across-the-board, has plummeted in the polls.

It now looks possible that on June 3, California voters may not only defeat Proposition 9, but also defeat an anti-rent control initiative (Prop. 10) that Ralph Nader has called the most dishonest, deliberately misleading proposition he has seen on a California ballot, and pass an anti-big oil initiative (Prop. 11) that would levy a 10 percent surtax on energy corporation profits in California—the revenues to be used for mass transit.

The defeat of 9 and 10 and the passage of 11 would significantly alter California's political landscape. It would spell the end of Jarvis and other right-wing hucksters, who have tried to parley peoples' need for tax relief into windfall profits, and it would give new life to the labor-community group coalition opposing 9 and 10 and supporting 11. It would show California developers and oil giants that they cannot simply buy elections. And it would demonstrate the public's refusal to accept the current Carter-Reagan wisdom that increased concession to profits and the wealthy are the only means of reviving the economy.

Proposition 9 was the brainchild of Jarvis and of University of Southern California economist Arthur Laffer, originator of the "Laffer Curve" and the father of the Kemp-Roth tax bill. Laffer and Jarvis argue that Proposition 9, like Proposition 13, will increase employment by freeing up tax dollars for productive investment. The Prop. 9 campaign is a rehearsal for Ronald Reagan's attempt this fall to convince the nation's voters that a 30 percent across-the-board tax cut will not just be spent on real estate, rare violins, and runaway shops.

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Jarvis already has spent about \$3.5 million gathering signatures and sending out mailings. This infusion of capital may have accounted for the two-to-one lead the measure enjoyed in the polls last winter. But while its opponents have only been able to spend \$600,000, largely donated by labor, they have steadily chipped away at the proposition's credibility.

### Fear of reduced services.

The most important reason the public has begun to turn against 9 is a fear of reduced social services. "It's hard for people to believe that another massive cutback could be accomplished without a further cut in services," pollster Mervyn Field says, explaining the two-to-one majority that now opposes the proposition.

San Francisco AFL-CIO COPE director Pat Jackson reports finding the same sentiments. "People now think government needs the money," she said.

Schools, parks, and libraries have been particularly hard hit by Prop. 13 cutbacks. And Proposition 9 would reduce state income by about the amount the state now spends to help cities and counties make up the loss of property tax income.

Among Californians, there is also some doubt about Prop. 13's economic contribution. While jobs have increased since 1978, the rate of increase has been less than between 1977 and 1978. Contrary to Laffer, the only clear winners from Prop. 13's passage have been corporate profits and rent receipts.

Proposition 9 has also been attacked because it will redistribute income from the poor to the rich. California Governor Jerry Brown, who came out against 9 two months ago, charged that 55 percent of its tax savings will accrue to the 10 percent who make more than \$40,000 a year.

Los Angeles Controller Ira Reiner, who backed Prop. 13, but opposes 9, released figures showing, for instance, that people making \$10,000 a year will save an average of \$51 and people making \$15,000 will save \$123.95, while people making \$50,000 will save \$793.50 and people making \$100,000 will save \$1,765.26. By his figures, the rich will save approximately 35 times as much as the poor.

Prop. 9 is backed by the same forces that were behind 13—apartment owners, wealthy professionals, small entrepreneurs and some larger, traditionally right-wing businesses like Dart Industries. Some corporate leaders reportedly threatened last spring to back Prop. 9 if the unions continued to push a November "tax simplicity" initiative that would have lowered taxes for the bottom 92 percent and raised them for the top 8 percent. This threat supposedly contributed to the decision of major public unions to throw their energy into the anti-9 drive and abandon the tax-simplicity initiative.

At the same time, most banks and corporations have not actually opposed 9, as they did Prop. 13, but have remained neutral. According to the AFL-CIO's Jackson and other anti-9 leaders, the absence of public business support has benefited the campaign against 9, unleashing some working-class resentment against the proposition's proponents.

### The big lie.

Proposition 10 was launched by a coalition of builders, mortgage bankers and apartment owners in response to the wave of rent control ordinances that were adopted when landlords refused to pass on to tenants the massive Prop. 13 reductions in their property taxes. Eighteen California cities and counties, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley and Santa Monica, passed rent control legislation.

Proposition 10 would declare invalid all existing rent control laws and prohibit a state rent control law. It would force local tenants to reintroduce initiatives. These initiatives could not apply to newly vacated property, and they could not restrict rent increases below the rate of inflation (even though property costs have kept considerably below the average increase in consumer price).

The Prop. 10 campaign, run by the right-wing San Francisco consultants Woodward, McDowell, and Larsen, has been billed, amazingly enough, as a campaign for "reasonable controls and fair rents." Only a court order prevented the initiative from being described as a "rent control initiative" on the ballot.

One radio spot features a black man complaining that his rent has risen from \$225 to \$360 a month. An announcer then interjects, "We can help put a stop to that kind of gouging by supporting Proposition 10."

The campaign also sports the spurious argument that rent control rather than rising interest rates, land and construction costs has discouraged new apartment construction.

The pro-10 forces had spent \$1.4 million by May 1, while their opponents had raised only \$19,524 (most of the labor and liberal money has gone to fighting 9 and to presidential candidates). But as northern California coordinator Michael Jacobs explained, the anti-10 forces, who are substantially the same as the anti-9 forces except for the State Building Trades, have been able to use the Federal Communications Commission's "fairness" doctrine to pick up needed television and radio time.

The anti-10 forces also picked up an important endorsement from the *Los Angeles Times*. Besides editorializing against the initiative, the *Times* has documented, in a series of articles, the lack of interest developers have in building new rental housing, rent control or no rent control. They prefer to use their profits to finance new luxury condominiums.

### Corporate greed.

Proposition 11 was developed by former Brown administration official Bill Press, and its ballot argument is by Brown, Press, and San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein. Its slogan is "Reasonable profits, yes. Greed, no." Its advertising, designed by Bill Zimmerman, has featured six corporate pigs eating at a trough, with an announcer concluding, "Let's stick it to big oil. They've been sticking it to us for years."

The oil companies are expected to spend a record \$10 million trying to defeat Proposition 11. (The old record of \$6.2 million was set by the tobacco industry in defeating a 1978 anti-smoking initiative.) Woodward, McDowell and Larsen are again running a deceptive campaign, focusing not on oil profits, but on the "bumblers" in the state bureaucracy who are attempting a "\$100 million sting."

The anti-11 ballot argument, written by Stanford economist Milton Friedman, formerly of Chicago and Santiago, contends that the initiative will discourage new oil investment and will simply lead to higher prices as the oil companies pass through their added costs.

"They just don't understand how prices operate," Zimmerman said. "They think prices are determined by costs of production. Prices are determined by whatever the market will bear."

Whether this wisdom will prevail rather than that of Friedman or Laffer will largely depend upon whether the anti-9, anti-10 and pro-11 forces can hang on to the leads their causes enjoy under the heavy barrage of misleading advertising that corporate and real estate forces will fire off in the election's closing week. ■

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### CORRESPONDENTS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, (617) 738-9707.  
DENVER: Timothy Lange, (303) 322-5315.  
PITTSBURGH: Eric Davin, (412) 421-7055.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.: Robert Howard, (202) 232-4942.

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# Miami and the fire this time

By Manning Marable

M I A M I

**L**AST SUNDAY AND MONDAY nights, the streets belonged to the poor people of Liberty City, Miami's major black ghetto. On nearly every street corner, cars and trucks had been turned over or set aflame. Hundreds of burglar alarms were ringing simultaneously along Northwest 54th Street, the ghetto's central business district. Huge factory warehouses in nearby Brownsville were torched, grocery and clothing stores were gutted after the merchandise had disappeared. Miami police refused to answer calls for assistance in many areas. Only when 2,500 additional National Guardsmen were added to the 1,100 that arrived on Sunday was some element of order restored.

Atrocities occurred on both sides of the color line. Three white youths returning from a fishing trip who drove through Liberty City Saturday night were dragged from their car and beaten to death. One Hispanic man whose car struck an 11-year-old black girl was seized and mutilated. Black youths halted the car of an elderly Spanish butcher and burned him alive.

Whites responded with more violence. On Monday afternoon, whites cruised through Liberty City in pickup trucks targeting random blacks for murder. At 4:30 p.m. that day, a white man in a pickup shot Thomas Reese, a 34-year-old black man waiting outside a local tavern. At least two other blacks were gunned down in similar fashion around 6:00 p.m. Some white store owners used shotguns and pistols to drive out looters. Others barricaded their neighborhood streets and kept night vigils, awaiting black rioters. Some whites hired themselves out at \$100 a day to protect white-owned property in the ghetto.

Police encouraged and in some instances initiated the racist counterattacks. Several black men were shot under what can only be described as suspicious circumstances. In one incident, police shot a 23-year-old black man who supposedly charged them with a small knife. Blacks arrested for looting were often segregated from white prisoners. Some blacks who returned to their parked automobiles at a department store after being released discovered that Metro police had smashed their windshields, destroyed some engines and spray-painted all cars with the word "looter."

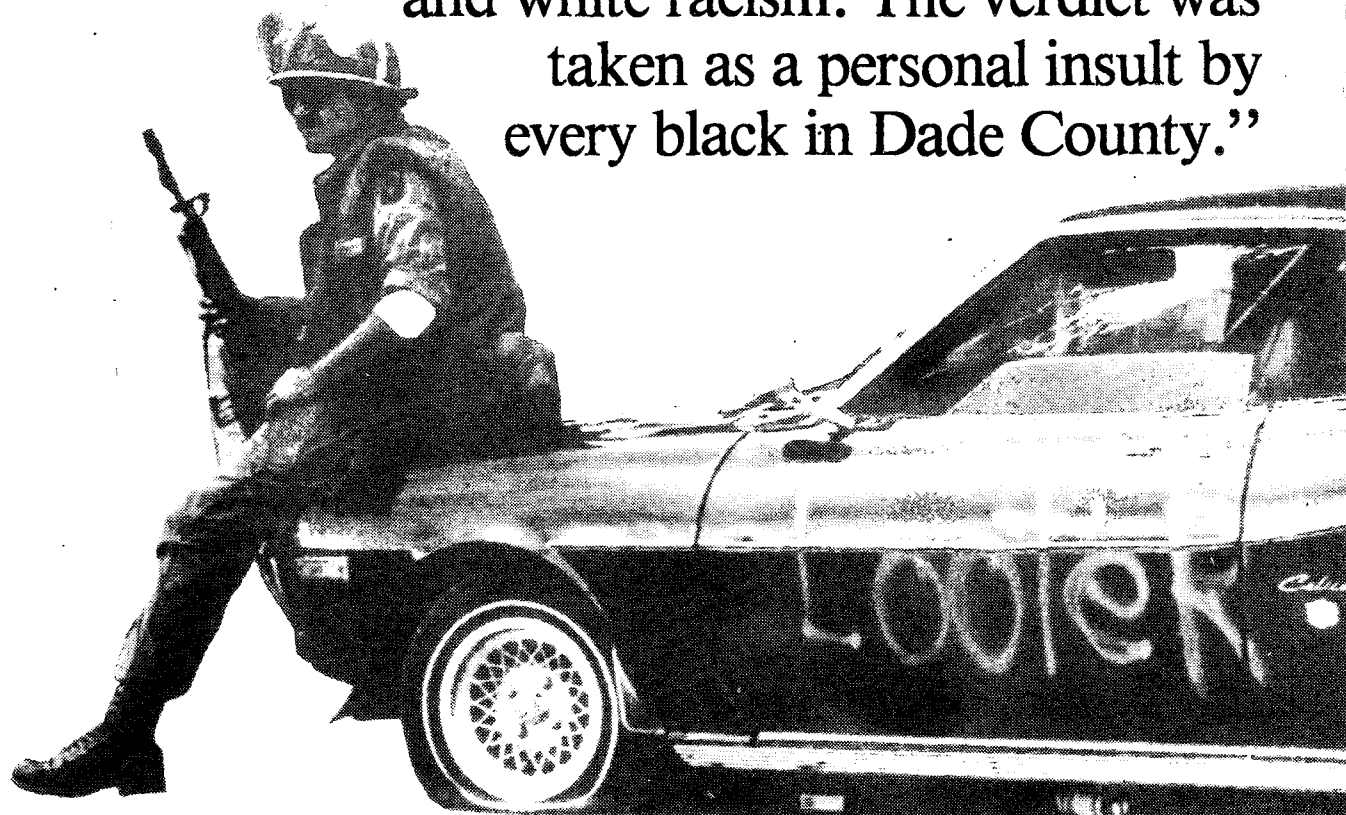
In economic terms, it was by far the most devastating racial uprising in U.S. history. Property damage exceeds \$100 million. Some 67 buildings were damaged, 24 of them gutted totally. Fifty-two square miles of Dade County were placed under an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew. By Wednesday morning, 865 black men and 73 black women had been arrested; only 11 white men and seven white women were jailed. The Florida Department of Labor estimates that at least 3,000 people lost their jobs because of the destruction of businesses.

Historically, the Miami rebellion is equaled in its manifestation of social unrest in this century only by the bloody Chicago race riot of 1919—and perhaps Watts and Detroit in the mid-'60s.

## The final straw.

The media has already pegged the revolt as "McDuffie's Riot." Arthur McDuffie, a 33-year-old black insurance executive, was administered a fatal beating in December by four Dade County police officers who claimed that he was guilty of reckless driving and resisting arrest. One witness to the incident, ex-police-man Charles Veraka Jr., had told the Tampa jury that McDuffie was "gang tackled" and viciously whipped across

"The word 'McDuffie' meant police brutality and white racism. The verdict was taken as a personal insult by every black in Dade County."



Members of the black community charged that police and guardsmen not only vandalized cars but informally passed out guns to white store owners.

the head with a steel flashlight.

Despite what appeared to be compelling evidence of police brutality, an all-white Tampa court returned a verdict of not guilty for all four officers last Saturday. Triumphant, one defendant, Sgt. Ira Diggs, joked to the police that he wanted his steel flashlight back. "I'm going to be a policeman again. If you leave batteries in those things too long it runs them down."

Black community leaders at the Tampa trial and in Miami were stunned by the verdict. Raymond C. Fauntroy, executive director of Florida's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, declared that "this is the most racist state in the country. There is no justice here for black people." Marvin Dunn, vice-president of Florida International University and one of several black Miami leaders, recognized that the verdict would provoke an outpouring of black anger and violence. "We have to do something very quickly to vent public reaction," Dunn explained to reporters, "or this is going to get out of hand."

Immediately black leaders called for a silent protest vigil in front of downtown Miami's police department and courthouse. About 5,000 people came to the demonstration; soon it became obvious that black moderates were no longer in control of the situation—the silence was broken when some blacks began to chant "We want justice."

"The McDuffie verdict revealed to everyone that the system doesn't work," said Zandra Tompkins, a reporter for the Miami Times, the black community's newspaper. Standing in the demonstration that night, everyone felt "the emotion, the outrage, the disgust, and the disappointment." Many were moved to tears. Tompkins explains, "The word McDuffie meant police brutality, white racism, and outrage with the system. It was taken as a personal insult by every single black person in Dade County last night."

Within minutes, a general rebellion erupted in every major section of Miami where blacks congregated—Liberty City, Brownsville, Overtown, Coconut Grove. Police at first attempted to quell the demonstrations by ordering black youths off the street, but they were hopelessly outnumbered.

One progressive Liberty City organizer, Bernard Dyer, attributed much of the

alienation to the incredible levels of unemployment for black Miamians. Despite media and official projections of 23 percent unemployment, Dyer says, the real rate of black joblessness exceeds 50 percent in Liberty City's massive housing projects. "The majority of household heads are on welfare, social security or unemployment," he observed. Veterans of both Vietnam and the 1968 riots cannot support their own families "without some kind of government dole. They rebel," he said, "because they've got nothing to lose."

## The aftermath.

On Monday morning rumors began to circulate in Miami's business district that another rally was scheduled to take place at the court house. Although the rumors were incorrect, thousands of panic-stricken whites closed their businesses by noon and fled the downtown area. Banks, restaurants and other commercial establishments were shut down. Some black customers were even ordered to "leave the building."

Huge sections of the warehouse and industrial district in Brownsville are burned-out rubble. Yet the violence was selective—in Tompkins' words, "The rebellion was both spontaneous and sophisticated." Norton Tires Company's warehouse in Brownsville, a massive one-square-city-block structure, burned steadily for almost two days and was reduced to a blackened shell. Other buildings in the neighborhood were torched. But several warehouses that employed large numbers of black workers were spared. One meat market formerly owned by blacks but only two months before purchased by Cubans was destroyed. Most black-owned businesses in Miami were untouched—one exception was a small grocery store in an integrated area that white residents burned in retaliation for attacks on white-owned property.

Significantly, the number of blacks participating in the rebellion cut across the broader class divisions than did the 1968 uprisings. People who stood on the sidelines objecting to violence 12 years ago, such as black school teachers and para-professionals, were sometimes found among the looters on Sunday and Monday. "In 1968 you had a black population that wanted to hear some promises of reform," says black community activist Francena Thomas. But the white

establishment is "moving those of us who believe in this system. We've begun to see that the promise of racial justice and nonviolent reform is a lie."

Black youth typify the level of activism. Youngsters under the age of 18 engaged in sniper fire with police and national guardsmen and often won such confrontations. "Twenty-two caliber guns going up against M-16s," reflected Thomas, "that's a direct indication of the level of desperation that our people feel."

As the rebellion gradually subsided, Mayor Maurice A. Ferre asked several national black leaders—including Andrew Young, NAACP head Benjamin Hooks, Operation PUSH's Jesse Jackson, and congresspeople Mickey Leland and John Conyers—to "cool off" the black community's rage. Late Tuesday afternoon, Hooks called a special meeting of "moderate" black community leaders and encouraged them to counsel patience. Hooks proposed a cooperative effort between white corporations and black labor to construct a coalition similar to one fashioned by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young in the late '60s. "We've got the top white leaders and the top black leaders to work together to create jobs and find the money to rebuild." Black former Miami commissioner Althalie Range asked Ray Goode, head of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, Frank Borman, president of Eastern Airlines, and Miami Herald president Alvah Chapman to help "seek assistance from other sources in private enterprise" to restore economic order.

The message from the community in the heart of Liberty City—dubbed "germ city" by its black young people—was strikingly different. On Wednesday, a group of local leaders using the name "Concerned Blacks Organized for Justice" issued a counter-manifesto listing a series of demands. Included in the list was the reinstitution of the bill of rights for black people—the right of free assembly and speech, the right to bear arms, an end to curfew restrictions, and economic self-determination for blacks within their own community.

Manning Marable, a regular columnist for IN THESE TIMES, will be filing several stories on blacks in Florida. Next week: The history and politics of racism in Dade County.



## STRIKES

# Labor and blacks back Laurel strike

By Steve Askin

LAUREL, MISS.

**T**RADE UNIONISTS AND CIVIL rights activists converged May 17 on this south Mississippi town of about 25,000 to march and rally with International Chemical Workers Union (ICWU) members on strike against Sanderson Farms chicken processing plant. It was the region's first major civil rights/labor mobilization since 1968, when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated as he rallied support for striking Memphis sanitation workers.

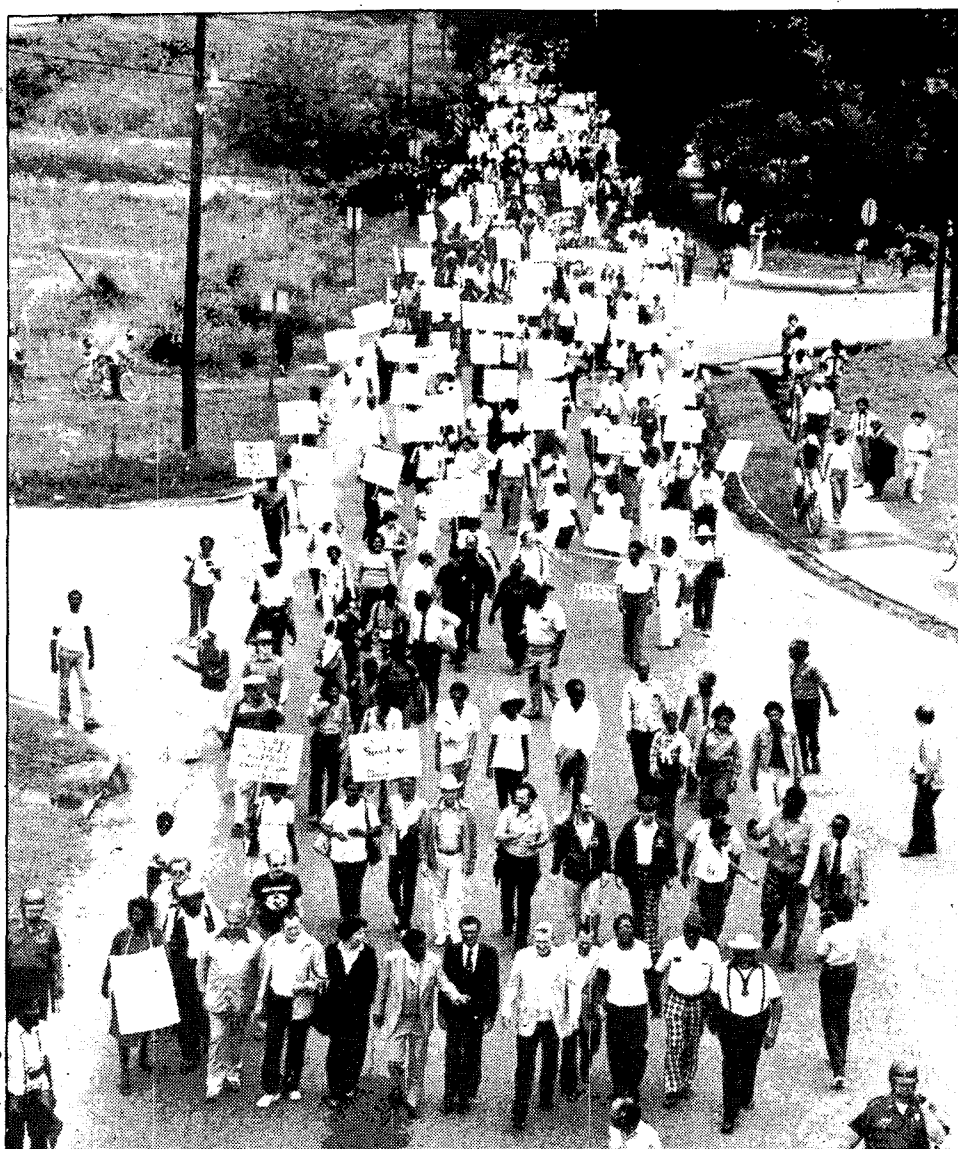
But the Laurel march, with at least a dozen unions and a wide array of social change groups participating, represented a much broader coalition than the Memphis 1968 joint action of one union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and one civil rights group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

ICWU president Frank Martino told the 2,000 marchers (a good crowd for Mississippi), "The labor movement has power, but not enough to crack the anti-union shops. The civil rights movement has power, the power that ended legal segregation and won the vote and shook the country, but it alone could not achieve economic justice for the masses of black people. The women's movement also has power, but by itself has not been able to end the special oppression of working women. The churches have power, but have not been able to control evil in high places. But," he concluded, "if we combine all these movements as

we have done today, I don't think there's anyone who can stop us."

Though most marchers came from the deep South, they were joined by ICWU members from as far away as Cincinnati and southern Indiana and by a busload from the St. Louis Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Also present were high ranking leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union and the United Furniture Workers of America—two of the unions most active in southern organizing—as well as rank-and-filers or local leaders from AFS-CME, auto, steel, electrical, teamsters, maritime, seafarers, teachers and molders unions. Traditional civil rights groups like SCLC and the NAACP were also represented, as were the National Organization of Women, Environmentalists for Full Employment, economic-justice groups like the United League, Southerners for Economic Justice, the Southern Organizing Committee and the Equal Rights Congress.

Some 200 ICWU Local 882 members, most of them black women, have been on strike since February 1979 against the Sanderson plant where they had faced sexual harassment, racist abuse, unsafe conditions, a dizzying work pace and near-minimum wages. (See IN THESE TIMES, Sept. 5, 1979.) Now the local is fighting for survival; the company has hired strikebreakers and refuses to negotiate. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) issued a complaint against the firm for refusing to talk and rejected a Sanderson claim that the union no longer has majority support. But company president Joe Frank Sanderson Jr., known to workers as "Little Joe" or



Unions, civil rights groups, feminists and economic justice organizations have joined the coalition to support strikers at Sanderson Farms.

"Massa Joe"—after refusing even to talk to the press for 14 months—in May told reporters he won't even consider bargaining until he has exhausted all the opportunities for appeal offered by the time-consuming labor law enforcement process.

Sanderson workers hope that the outside pressure might embarrass Sanderson into talking or convince other local businessmen to pressure him to do so. "I think this has a whole lot of effect on Massa Joe," said 50-year-old Mildred Bender, who earned \$2.90 an hour removing chicken gizzards.

Sanderson workers know they still face a difficult struggle, but they are encouraged by new developments. Sanderson's new willingness to talk to the press may be evidence that he is worried. Lo-

cal newspapers gave sympathetic coverage to the demands of the May 17 marchers. And Laurel's black clergy, who were initially reluctant to back the strike, voted to endorse the rally and to boycott Sanderson's Miss Goldy brand chickens.

Committee for Justice organizers said they will stay in Laurel to continue aiding strikers and to make certain the workers don't stand alone if a local backlash develops after outside supporters leave. Skip Robinson, whose United League has led northern Mississippi blacks in major protest campaigns against racist abuse and for economic equality, said he intends to send a team of organizers to Laurel, further expanding the campaign to win the Sanderson strike.

Steve Askin is labor correspondent for the National Catholic Reporter.

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## CANADA

# Economic fears sway Quebec voters

By Larry Black

MONTREAL

**T**HE NATIONALIST PARTI QUEBECOIS government in Quebec lost an important battle in its decade-long bid to separate the largely French-speaking province from the rest of Canada last Tuesday, but few political observers predict an imminent death for the independence movement.

The PQ, swept into power three and a half years ago on a wave of social democratic and nationalistic zeal, went down to defeat in a province-wide referendum on political sovereignty, winning the support of only 40.5 percent of the 4.3 million eligible voters.

The defeat was seen as particularly thorough because the PQ, a moderate, broad-based nationalist coalition, had gone to great lengths to water down the radicalism of its proposal and reassure both Quebecers and other North Americans. The question posed May 20 asked only for a mandate to negotiate "sovereignty-association" with the Canadian federal government—political sovereignty coupled with continued economic association with the other nine Canadian provinces. The results of the negotiations, expected to last several years, were to have been put to a second referendum before any change was undertaken.

The outcome of the referendum was watched keenly by other Western nationalist movements still hoping to gain succession by means of the ballot box. Quebec's referendum was seen as having perhaps the best chances of success, because its question was phrased by nationalists and posed after a period of relatively successful nationalist provincial government.

The PQ had also succeeded in polarizing tightly knit French-Canadian society around the issue, winning support from the province's militant trade unions, its flourishing cultural community and its emerging class of Francophone professionals.

Lined up against the proposal were large U.S. and English-Canadian corporations, the still economically powerful



Proponents of a "oui" vote on sovereignty-association (above and below left) produced only 40 percent of the vote. Provincial leader Rene Levesque (right) may soon find himself in the opposition.

English-speaking minority in the province, and an aging group of conservative French politicians grouped around Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau and Claud Ryan, a former newspaper publisher and leader of the provincial liberal opposition party.

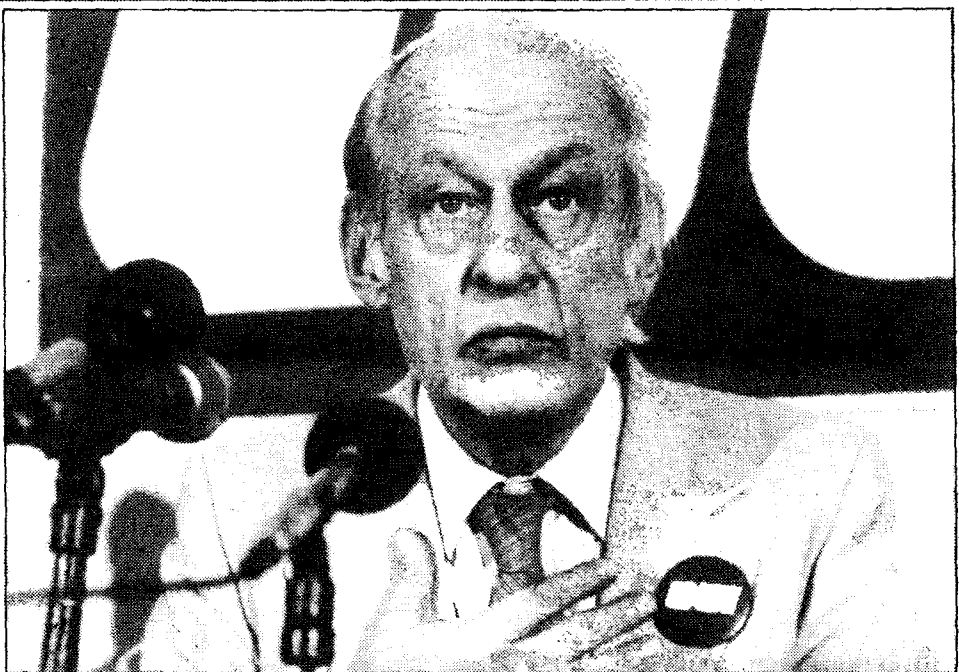
A major factor in the referendum loss was the successful appeal by the federalist forces to Quebecers' traditional fear of change—one heightened in recent years, despite cultural frustrations, by increasing economic insecurity. Federal cabinet ministers campaigning in the province before the vote suggested Quebecers might lose pension and other social security benefits if sovereignty-association were achieved, and a multi-million-dollar, federally-funded advertising blitz—conducted in flagrant violation of the spirit of the province's referendum expenditures law—brought the point home.

The federal government coupled these threats with a promise for a new Canadian constitution to solve long-standing Quebec complaints within the Canadian federal framework. That promise—one almost as long-standing as the province's complaints—had a strong effect on the cautious voters who, in the words of PQ leader Rene Levesque, "seem to be willing to give Canada yet another chance."

## Culture and the economy.

There is little disagreement among Quebecers—even among those in the federalist camp—that the province is indeed a separate "nation" within the boundaries of Canada, with its own language, culture and history. The confrontation that has emerged since the 1950s has centered on how best to ensure the survival of this unique nation of six million francophones isolated on a continent of 240 million English-speakers. To Trudeau and the province's limited number of successful private industrialists, the answer has lain in increasing—and profitable—integration of the province's economy into Canada and the rest of North America.

But to the many other Quebecers touched by what is known here as the "quiet revolution" of the 1960s (when the province completed its late but accelerated entry into 20th century North America), becoming "masters in our own house"—that is, separating politi-



Photos by Lionel Dellevigne

cally from English Canada—was seen as the only way to overcome the second-class status of the majority French language, and the province's chronically low wages, poor health and high unemployment.

The rise of a new professional class of French Quebecers corresponded with the erosion of English Montreal as the financial capital of Canada. French Quebecers demanded primacy for their language in education and business and an end to systematic job discrimination, while the English elite, though diminishing in importance, failed to yield even token respect for their aspirations. Frustration in the 1960s gave rise to a host of nationalist parties and to a small revolutionary, Third-World-inspired independence movement. The most visible strain was the tiny *Front de Liberation du Quebec* (FLQ), which began bombing mailboxes in wealthy English suburbs in 1963 and climaxed their campaign with the kidnapping of a British trade commissioner and a provincial Liberal cabinet minister in October 1970.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau reacted by suspending civil liberties, claiming the kidnappings were part of a massive coup attempt, and sending the Canadian army into the province to round up nationalists of all stripes. The diplomat was eventually released, and his kidnappers given passage to exile in Cuba. The provincial cabinet minister—later connected with underworld bosses—was found murdered, and his kidnappers captured and jailed.

Proof of a planned "independentiste" insurrection has never been presented by Trudeau, and a fairly large number of

Canadians, not all of them Quebec nationalists, have alleged the prime minister used the pair of amateurish kidnappings as excuse to show Quebec he means business when it came to threats to Canadian unity. Two investigation commissions studying illegal activities by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have produced evidence that the federal police had thoroughly infiltrated the FLQ and had perhaps even manipulated its actions during the kidnapping period.

Referendum eve in Montreal saw several thousand young, pro-independence demonstrators spontaneously back on the streets waving red flags and chanting "SOS-FLQ"—an only half-joking frustrated appeal for an end to the PQ's soft-pedalled nationalism and a return to the violent methods of the FLQ. But among the demonstrators and their cheering supporters in the bohemian open-air cafes along the march route there was a stronger, unexpected dignity in the face of loss, an apparent belief that the coming attempt to "renew" Canadian federalism will meet with the same unsatisfactory results as earlier efforts.

The referendum loss may well mean a PQ defeat in the provincial election expected this fall or next spring, and the victory for Ryan's provincial Liberals. After Tuesday's debacle, the PQ will almost be glad to be back in the opposition, to mock Ryan's attempts at meaningful constitutional change and his inevitable confrontations with organized labor. Few observers see a short-term revival of nationalist fortunes in Quebec, but none doubt that it will re-emerge in some form before the decade is out. ■

Larry Black is a Montreal journalist.





## EUROPE

## Europe's socialists target arms race

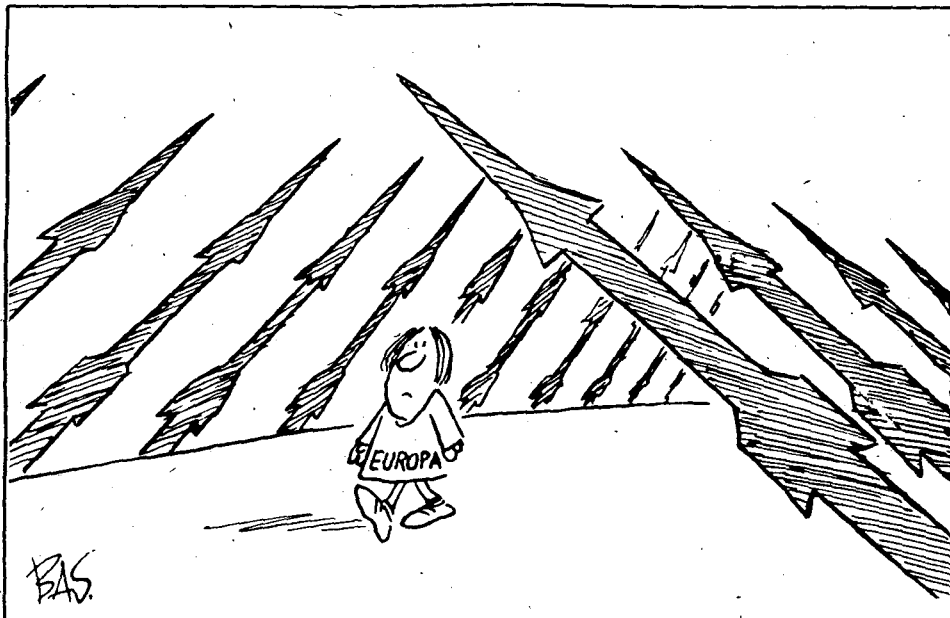
By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**"T**HE WORLD IS IN DANGER of arming itself to death," Socialist International party leaders concluded at their conference this year in Vienna. There was a new sense of urgency in the discussion of the arms race and the dangers to detente that dominated the meeting. Swedish party leader Olof Palme noted that everyone at the Vienna meeting had spoken about disarmament, which would not have happened 10 years ago.

U.S. failure to ratify SALT II and the Euromissile controversy, followed by the war scare surrounding the Iranian crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, have drawn attention to questions of war and peace Europeans had preferred to consider more or less settled.

A crossroads can be dimly perceived. How will Western Europe react to the "holes in the American nuclear umbrella" (supposedly providing its sole mili-



tary protection) pointed out by American leaders themselves? By undertaking its own arms race against the Soviet Union, or by seeking to ease tensions and lower arms levels through negotiations?

In contrast to Asia and Africa, Eur-

ope is free of any conflict that could foreseeably lead to war. Indeed, the only threat of war comes from the enormous concentration of weapons on European soil. Yet a further buildup is quite possible.

French chief of staff General Guy Mery recently suggested that development of the neutron bomb would fit into French strategic doctrine. This doctrine has been discreetly altered under the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Gaullist military policy was based on the notion of "deterrence of the strong by the weak" made possible by "the equalizing power of the atom." Contrary to the caricature current in the English-speaking world, Gaullist defense policy was based not on delusions of "grandeur" (the French word, anyway, means "greatness" or just "size," but not "grandeur" in the English sense), but rather on the idea that France was a medium-sized power, whose conquest represented only a medium-sized interest that could thus be deterred by a medium-sized (but damaging) nuclear strike force. This deterrence could work only if France was clearly detached from any larger power, hence the country's withdrawal from NATO. The Gaullist nuclear strike force, it was carefully specified, was not directed particularly against the Soviet Union in the framework of a Western military machine that might be set in motion by some crisis unrelated to French interests, but was reserved solely to deter aggression against France, wherever it might come from.

## A shift in strategy.

Giscardian revisions of defense policy, recently confirmed unanimously by the president's political party, Union for French Democracy (UDF), involve three major changes. First, there is an implicit abandon of deterrence for the development of "tactical" or "theater" nuclear weapons meant to be used in a sub- or pre-apocalyptic conflict. The reinforced radiation or "neutron" bomb may be one of these. Second, the USSR is identified as the potential enemy and French forces are integrated into a European defense force set to be triggered off in central Europe. Giscard announced this change shortly after he came to office in 1974, describing Europe as a single battlefield.

Finally, new attention is given to the potential "enemy within." The recent UDF defense report stressed that "the rear will be attacked first; it is important to be prepared for the fight against subversion." This goes along with the extension of such police controls of the population as identity checks in the Paris metro, justified as part of a search for criminals and foreigners whose papers are not in order, but which could obviously be used to round up leftists on grounds of "national security."

The big question seems to be how this integration of French nuclear power will be coordinated with West Germany, a non-nuclear power with large conventional forces. A Franco-German arsenal with a whole range of nuclear and conventional weapons aimed at the USSR would seem to be in keeping with the desires of NATO and U.S. strategists who would like to see Western Europe prepared to wage nuclear war with the Soviet Union without involving the U.S. The close and confident relationship developed between the French president and West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt makes such a partnership look more possible. But while Giscard represents the French right, Schmidt is the leader of a Social Democratic party, the SPD, with far greater misgivings about the arms race.

It is notorious that Schmidt is at the far right of his own party. He has great personal prestige, and if, as seems likely after the SPD's clearcut victory in elections held May 11 in North Rhine-Westphalia (West Germany's most important *Land*, with one-third of the population), he is triumphantly returned to power in general elections next fall, he will have a strong bargaining position based on political lee-

Continued on page 14.

## A broader view of "human rights"

While Willy Brandt is the father and chairman of the revived Socialist International, its general secretary is a cautious Swede, Bernt Carlsson. Since the organization was reformed in 1976, he has been running its modest office, rather incongruously tucked above a shop on the posh high street of a well-to-do London residential area. Although careful not to stray from the official consensus of 42 disparate member parties, Carlsson seems clearly to belong to the left wing of the S.I. He got his Third World credentials as international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party from 1970 to 1976, when Olof Palme was incurring U.S. wrath by supporting the Vietnamese. Carlsson voices official S.I. positions with an earnestly determined reformist optimism that seems very Scandinavian.

While North-South relations are the great novelty of the International since 1976, East-West relations are also important and related. Could you explain this, and why the priority of the International is disarmament?

First, it is in our immediate interest to survive. If the arms race goes on like this, it is felt widely—more and more widely—that sooner or later it will get out of control. The risk that in a tense situation something might go wrong is constantly increasing, and the more advanced nuclear weapons systems get, the more grave the dangers. Therefore it is imperative not only for the two superpowers most directly involved but for all industrialized nations and all of mankind to get this arms race stopped. The first ambition is merely to stop the upward spiral. The second phase will be leveling or stabilizing of arms expenditures, and in the third phase we could see some reductions. The aim of general disarmament is remotely in the future, if we ever get there.

The second aspect of the arms race is that it has always throughout the history of mankind represented a tremendous waste of resources, of economic resources, of cultural and intellectual resources. We are in the situation where we have to establish a new international order, including a new international economic order. This is not a matter which is of interest only to the Third World; it involves the survival of both the industrialized countries to make the economic sacrifices that will be necessary to adjust international trade relations in a direction more favorable to the Third World. The only area where we could make those savings without revising the standard of

living of the industrialized world would be in the immense waste of human resources, the immense waste of wealth going into the arms race.

Some military specialists are saying it's too late for disarmament because of technological developments, that miniaturization of weapons has two effects: first, that targeting is more precise, making the use of small nuclear weapons likelier, and second, that control is impossible of tiny devices that can easily be hidden.

It's true that we are running against time, that control is increasingly becoming technologically more difficult. But you must distinguish between quantity and quality of arms. You can still cut in the quantity of arms; you don't need that many bombs on either side. The U.S. and the Soviet Union can kill each other off many times, it's a purely academic discussion who can kill the other off the most. By cutting down on the quantity of the arms race, you could make enormous savings in terms of money and also increase stability. But what we now face in the '80s is an attempt to control the quality of the arms race, research and development, and this is going to be much more difficult. There I agree with the French military experts you mention, but I don't agree with the pessimistic conclusion. It means that the arms control procedure itself will be much more expensive, and might develop into a major industry and a new field for the talent of man. It would require to a great extent the same kind of intellectual capacity now poured into the arms race or even more, because it's a greater challenge to try to control it than just keep escalating it. This will mean a tremendous field of work for scientists, engineers, technicians, systems analysts, political scientists, economists, politicians and journalists. And military people, military people would have to be transferred from war-making machinery to a form of machinery still to be set up for arms control and disarmament processes. This is a field which is much more constructive and will give much more intellectual and emotional reward.

What do you hope will come out of the forthcoming conference on cooperation and security in Europe to be held Madrid?

The European conference itself in Helsinki in 1975 which codified the end of World War II was a major achievement. Then there was a follow-up in Belgrade. It is good just to hold these conferences,



S.I. general secretary Bernt Carlsson.

but it should be followed up by some more practical cooperation. From the point of view of the Socialist International, we think we should more seriously discuss, for example, the Soviet proposal for cooperation within this framework in the field of energy, and we favor a positive response to the Soviet initiative.

Some Europeans criticize the style of President Carter's human rights campaign for having made the Soviet Union more closed. How do you distinguish President Carter's human rights campaign from that of the Socialist International?

When Willy Brandt drew the guidelines for the International at the 1976 Geneva congress, he said there were three main areas in which the International should concentrate. These were: the North-South dialogue, disarmament and human rights. This happened to coincide with the policy that was to be launched by Carter when he was inaugurated in 1977. But our definition of human rights is clearly a different one from that of President Carter. Carter's concept of human rights is the traditional bourgeois one that we don't disregard, concentrating on civil rights and possibly also political rights, but in our definition human rights is a much broader concept. We would say human rights includes civil rights, political rights, economic rights and social rights. In that way we would also agree with the Soviet position that unemployment is an expression of lack of human rights in economic terms.



# The Car Crash

*Detroit's greed and stupidity collide with the changing market*

*By David Moberg*

**T**HE RECESSION THAT EVERYONE expected has finally arrived. Yet just as it took longer to hit than predicted, its force appears much greater than forecast. This slump may go as deep as that of 1974-75, the most severe recession since the '30s, starting from a level of unemployment even higher than in 1973.

Nowhere is the situation worse than in the auto industry, which traditionally accounts for one-sixth of the jobs in the U.S. Massive layoffs, plant closings and heavy losses in the U.S. market for Chrysler and Ford have been accompanied by other troubling news: imports, especially from Japan, are capturing an unprecedented share of the domestic market as the few remaining customers scurry to buy the most fuel-efficient cars they can find.

Some observers, especially harried leaders of the United Auto Workers, fear that the industry is undergoing more than its usual sharp cyclical downturn. They worry that the Japanese may permanently capture a huge share of the U.S. market and that many of the laid-off workers will never have jobs making automobiles again. Such fears are nourishing a political climate for a wide variety of federal actions to help the auto industry and auto workers, most prominently proposals to curb Japanese im-

ports and to force foreign companies to establish factories in the U.S.

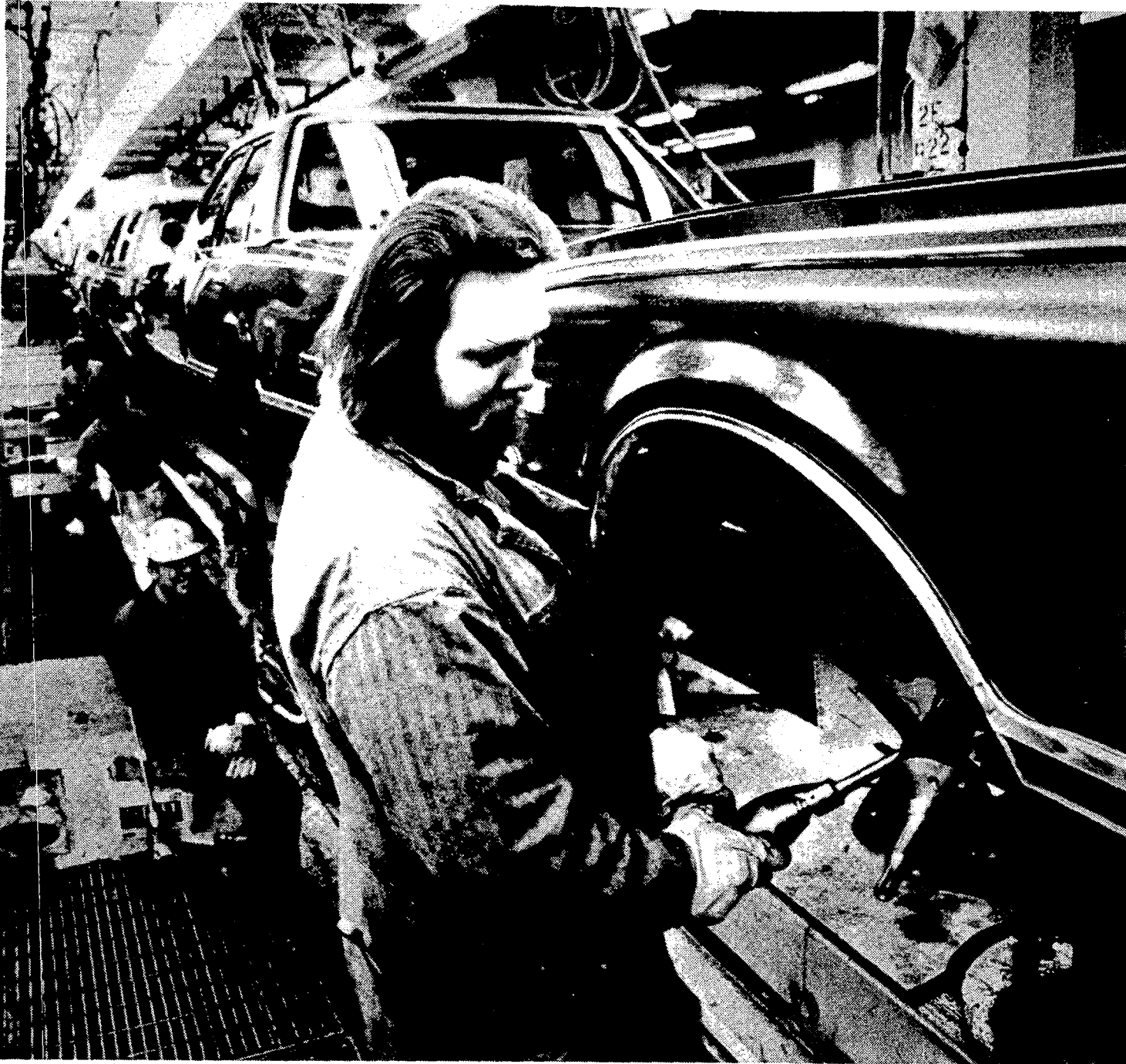
But the attack on the Japanese obscures the causes of the current auto industry difficulties and the responsibility of the industry's executives for the auto plight. There is a big shift underway in the world auto industry, but it is not simply toward growing Japanese exports. It is also toward greater economic concentration and the emergence of a small club of multinational auto companies producing cars and their components in dozens of countries, interlocked in various joint ventures, marketing the same basic cars around the world and dividing market shares and location of factories among different countries according to the dictates of profit maximization mixed with political necessity. General Motors and Ford—which already bills itself on its stationery as “the world car company”—will be in the top rank of this club of six, eight, or at the outside, 12 giants. Control over their investment decisions will mean far more to the security of American auto workers and the vitality of the American economy than influence over the Japanese.

Public policies—or the lack of public action in many areas—have already shaped the American auto industry and

*Continued on the following page.*







Earl Dotter

Continued from previous page.

will continue to do so. But what policies? Import quotas, local content rules, altered safety or pollution standards, higher (or lower) fuel economy targets, government subsidies, federal research and development, tax credits, income protection, public ownership and many other policies have been proposed. It is unlikely in the confusion that the country will get what it needs: recognition that we need public, democratic planning of this crucial sector of the economy. Otherwise, the planning, such as it is, will be done by GM and Ford at considerable cost to the public and the auto workers.

The immediate data of hard times are stark enough:

- Nearly 40 percent of the auto workforce was laid off last week, a total of 304,144 workers, of whom 222,879 were on indefinite layoff. Fifty-four percent of Ford and Chrysler workers were laid off.

- Ford and Chrysler have closed a dozen assembly, engine or parts plants. The latest victim was Chrysler's Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit. More shut-downs are expected to follow.

- Sales in early May were down over 40 percent from last year, over 50 percent at Ford and Chrysler, even worse than in April.

- All the American auto companies, including GM, may post significant losses this year. Ford certainly will lose on its North American operations—perhaps \$2 billion—and foreign sales that provided it back-up strength are also slipping. Chrysler, originally predicting a lower loss for 1980 than their record \$1.1 billion deficit for 1979, now seems on its way toward an even worse year. Despite accumulation of the necessary private credits, concessions and other funds to win approval of the \$1.5 billion federal loan guarantee, there is a good chance Chrysler will fold within a couple of years, or else be back for more bail-out money, especially since the non-government assistance provided little up-front working capital.

- As the market shifts to smaller, fuel-efficient cars, the American industry is incapable of supplying the demand despite overtime work at factories producing small cars. The import share of the market has grown to 27 percent this year, up from the range of 15-18 percent in recent years. Now nearly four-fifths of those imports are from Japan.

- The slump has spread. An additional 130,000 workers have been laid off from

auto suppliers. Since the beginning of the year 300 auto dealerships have folded. Steel and tire layoffs are also linked to the auto decline.

**“W**E BELIEVE WE'RE looking at a permanent deterioration of the market,” says UAW spokesperson Don Stillman. Traditionally auto customers establish strong brand loyalties. Some observers fear that Americans will stick with Datsun, Toyota and Mazda much as they did in the past with Chevy and Ford, especially since foreign cars have established a reputa-

tion for high quality as well as efficiency.

The biggest problem right now is not imports but the general recession, triggered by high interest rates. Car sales plummeted as credit tightened and rates scared off many buyers. High interest rates have also pushed up the dealers' cost of carrying inventory, putting pressure upwards on prices and lessening demand for replenishing the showroom stock of cars.

Even import sales are down (12 percent in April), although not as badly as for the domestic manufacturers. The rising import share of the market basically reflects America's accelerated move to smaller, more efficient cars. Since the mid-'60s a

## The Micro-chip Revolution

**DETROIT**—The long-term future of the auto industry and the number of workers eventually recalled from current layoffs will depend on how the automakers use the powerful new technology of the microprocessor, or computer on a chip. It makes possible new forms of automation and a world factory for auto production in which considerable numbers of jobs may be exported to low-wage areas.

Much of the \$80 billion the auto manufacturers will spend by the mid-'80s will go for new machinery and systems that rely on this computer technology and will aid in their “world car” strategy. For example, this fall Ford will debut the Escort in Europe and the Escort and Lynx in the U.S. Assembled simultaneously in the U.S., England and Germany, the cars will have transaxles built in Japan, cylinder heads cast in Italy, rear brakes made in Brazil and other parts from a total of 12 countries.

Telecommunications and computers make it much easier to coordinate operations and develop common designs, giving the automakers a great deal of flexibility as to where to locate their production plants. Interchangeability of parts enables the companies to satisfy local content laws for manufacturing in the rapidly growing markets of Asia and Latin America and, at the same time, take advantage of low local

wages to produce cheap parts for export.

The new integration in international operations is especially apparent in product design. Ford, for example, has just completed a \$10 million computer center in Dearborn. During the day these systems are used by Ford engineers in North America and at night they can be used, through a cable hook-up, by Ford engineers in Europe. During the design of the Escort, engineers from Germany, the U.S., England, Switzerland and Spain all had access to the same data base and worked simultaneously on the project.

The new technology makes possible a massive introduction of labor-saving technology. Since the microprocessors bring big-computer power to everything from typewriters to machine tools, many jobs that have previously defied automation, such as skilled machining and small assembly, can be eliminated.

While employment in the auto industry also depends on market growth and product complexity, the editor of *Automotive Industries* candidly sized up the impact of computer-based technologies and robots: “The fundamental consequence is that they're going to displace a great many human beings.”

—Harley Shaiken  
Harley Shaiken is a consultant to the UAW on advanced technology.

growing chunk of the market has been taken by subcompacts and compacts, rising from around 15 percent in 1966 to a peak of 53 percent in 1975, then hovering a few points lower until the recent surge to around 60 percent. For the past three years the domestic producers were holding their own at about 60 percent of the expanding small car market. The rising share of imports this year does not reflect a Japanese invasion but rather the massive buyer rejection of big, less efficient cars and the inability of domestic producers running at full production to satisfy small-car demand.

Industry executives claim that this turnaround is a result of an abrupt shift in demand brought about by the worries sparked last spring about availability of gasoline and by rapidly rising gasoline prices. The growth in demand for small cars did slow somewhat after 1975, but it is also true that Detroit didn't want to build small cars and continued to advertise very heavily to promote its big cars. Automakers help to form a market for certain goods as much as they try to respond to it. (A small fraction of the American public, mainly on the upper ranges of income, buy new cars and thus shape from the demand side what kind of cars are produced. Also, 57 percent of new cars are bought in fleets, mainly for business use, and those are disproportionately larger cars than the remainder sold to the general public.) Certainly auto executives should have been able to read the signals of the long-term market change.

The basic fault lay not with a fickle public, but with management intent on short-run profit maximization. “Never once while I was in General Motors management did I hear substantial social concern raised about the impact of our business on America, its consumers or the economy,” former top GM executive John Z. DeLorean told J. Patrick Wright in *On a Clear Day You Can See General Motors*. “When we should have been planning switches to smaller, more fuel-efficient, lighter cars in the late 1960s in response to a growing demand in the marketplace, GM management refused because ‘we make more money on big cars.’ It mattered not that customers wanted the smaller cars or that a national balance-of-payments deficit was being built in large part because of the burgeoning sales of foreign cars in the American market.”

Automakers also put comparatively little investment into new design or auto technology research or into new physical plant until the recent move to “downsize,” according to a study of the industry by Harbridge House (a private consulting firm) for DOT. Even last year auto executives were trying to reduce the federal requirements for fuel efficiency that rise to a corporate average fuel economy of 27.5 miles per gallon in 1985. Now there is grudging recognition that the fuel economy standards saved the U.S. industry from even greater disaster. “The standards have forced us to do something we're doing much better than we thought we ever could,” former GM chairman Richard Gerstenberg told Joseph Kraft of the *New Yorker*.

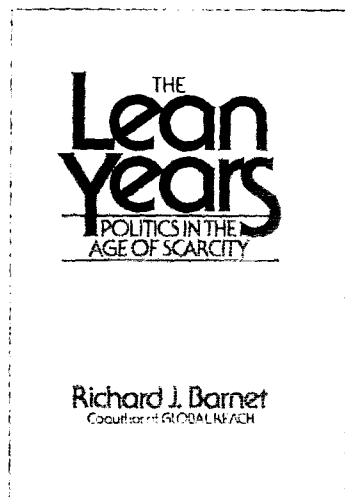
But the industry fought the changes. Rather than make a dramatic shift to a car of the future, U.S. automakers made their changes incrementally, resisting four-cylinder engines, front-wheel drive and other innovations that the foreign competition had long before introduced. As a result, meeting pollution, safety, economy and size standards demanded by the government, the public or both was probably more expensive in the long run than it would have been with a dramatic leap.

**A** MERICAN MANUFACTURERS not only delayed their small cars but also failed to engineer them carefully. The exploding Pinto, the roll-over Corvair and the warped-engine Vega are a few landmarks. (DeLorean, incidentally, reveals that GM made a decision that safety wasn't worth a few dollars, much as Ford did with the Pinto. A \$15 stabilizing bar would have saved the many lives lost in the Corvair, but top management refused, saying it was “too



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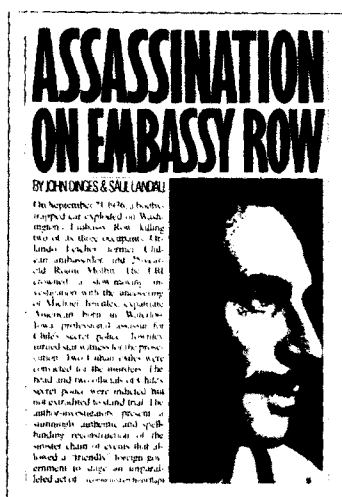
NEW!



## THE LEAN YEARS Politics in the Age of Scarcity

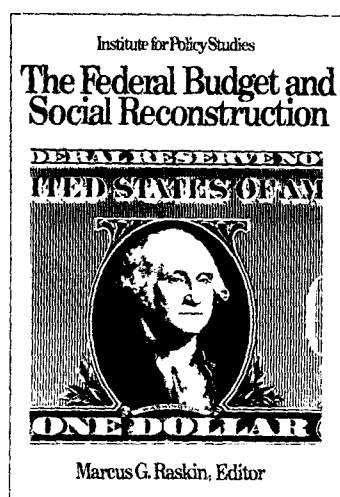
Richard J. Barnet. (1980) 320 pp, cloth, Simon & Schuster, \$12.95. A lucid and startling analysis of basic global resources: energy, non-fuel minerals, food, water, and human labor. The depletion and maldistribution of supplies bodes a new global economic, political and military order in the 1980s. "... brilliantly informed book... cogent, aphoristic pulling together of the skeins of catastrophic scarcity in 'the coming postpetroleum world'..." *Publishers Weekly*

NEW!



## ASSASSINATION ON EMBASSY ROW

John Dinges and Saul Landau. (1980) 384 pp, cloth, Pantheon, \$14.95. A devastating political document that probes all aspects of the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations, interweaving the investigations of the murder by the FBI and the Institute. The story surpasses the most sophisticated fiction in depth of characterization at the same time that it raises serious and tantalizing questions about the response of American intelligence and foreign policy to international terrorism.



## THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Marcus Raskin, Editor. (1978) 470 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-001-1, \$8.95. This study describes the Federal Budget, sets new priorities for government spending and presents alternative policies for defense, energy, health and taxation. "The issuance of this report is a major political event and a challenge to mainstream ideology. It should be widely purchased."

*Library Journal*  
"... a first-rate critique of the present economic crisis in this country... a valuable blueprint for charting a more humane and just society for all Americans in future years."

James Abourezk

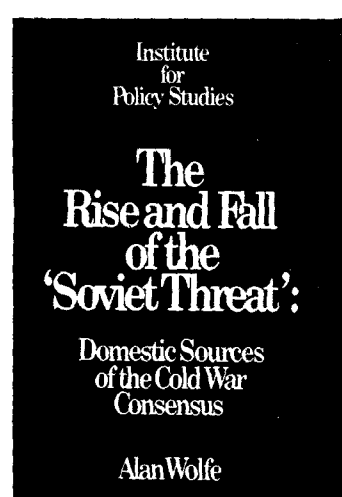


## COMMON SENSE FOR HARD TIMES

Jeremy Brecher and Tom Costello. (1976, 1979) 277 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-02-5, \$5.00 (\$12.50 cloth). Inflation, unemployment, declining real incomes, environmental degradation, powerlessness at work and away—these are the basic problems that face most people right now. This valuable book tells in practical terms how we can deal with them effectively. "A popularly written analysis of modern times... a primer on class consciousness... recommended for wide purchase."

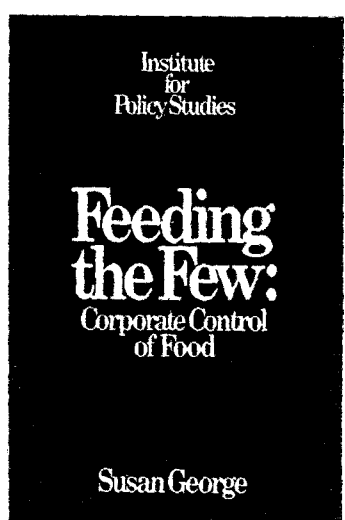
*Library Journal*  
"... the best manual for our 'hard times'..."  
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## THE RISE AND FALL OF THE 'SOVIET THREAT': Domestic Sources of the Cold War Consensus

Alan Wolfe. (1980) 94 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-019-2, \$4.95. A timely essay demonstrating that American fear of the Soviet Union tends to fluctuate according to domestic factors as well as in relation to the military and foreign policies of the USSR. Wolfe contends that recurring features of American domestic politics periodically coalesce to spur anti-Soviet sentiment, contributing to increased tensions and dangerous confrontations.



## FEEDING THE FEW: Corporate Control of Food

Susan George. (1978) 79 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-010-9, \$3.95. The author of *How the Other Half Dies* has extended her critique of the world food system which is geared towards profit not people. This study draws the links between the hungry at home and those abroad exposing the economic and political forces pushing us towards a unified global food system.

## FOOD FIRST: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins with Cary Fowler. (1977) 466 pp, paper, \$2.75. "People are hungry because of a scarcity of food and land" is one of the myths dispelled in this excellent study by the Institute for Food and Development Policy. It attributes the causes of world hunger to concentration of economic power in the hands of elites who profit by the generation of scarcity and the internationalization of food control. "... with its vigorously uncompromising point of view and carefully thought out and documented analysis, it is clearly a major achievement." *The Washington Post*

## WORLD HUNGER: TEN MYTHS

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins. (1977) 50 pp, paper, \$2.25. Synopsis of *Food First*. A useful educational resource for food activists and academics.

## WORLD HUNGER: Causes and Remedies

Staff of the Transnational Institute. (1975) 26 pp, paper, \$2.50. A discussion of the world food situation assessing the present crisis, offering background analyses, and considering the future outlook. Sixteen tables of comparative past, present, and projected data are included in this article based on a report prepared for the United Nations World Food Conference in Rome.

## HOW THE OTHER HALF DIES

Susan George. (1977) 308 pp, paper, Allenheld-Osmun, \$5.95. This important examination of multinational agribusiness corporations explains that the roots of hunger are not overpopulation, changing climate, or bad weather, but rather the control of food by the rich. "A most intelligent, urgent and thought-provoking book on a truly vital subject."

John Kenneth Galbraith

## THE CRISIS OF THE CORPORATION

Richard Barnet. (1975) 28 pp, paper, \$1.50. Now a classic, this essay analyzes the power of the multinational corporations which dominate the U.S. economy, showing how the growth of multinationals inevitably results in an extreme concentration of economic and political power. The result, according to Barnet, is a crisis for democracy itself.

## THE NEW GNOMES: Multinational Banks in the Third World

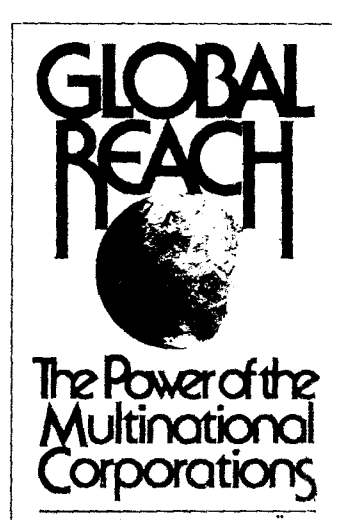
Howard M. Wachtel. (1977) 61 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-006-0, \$3.95.

This work documents and analyzes the growth of Third World debt to private U.S.-based multinational banks, and the impact of this new form of indebtedness on the politics and economic policies of Third World countries.

## HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC AID AND PRIVATE BANKS: The Case of Chile

Michael Moffitt and Isabel Letelier. (1978) 16 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00.

This issue paper documents the tremendous increase in private bank loans to the Chilean military dictatorship since the overthrow of Salvador Allende in 1973. Previously unpublished data demonstrates how private banks rescued the Chilean military government by increasing loans to Chile at the very time governments and international institutions were reducing their loans because of massive human rights violations.



## GLOBAL REACH

Richard Barnet and Ronald Müller. (1974) 508 pp, paper, Simon & Schuster, \$6.95. A searching, provocative inquiry into global corporations... Barnet and Müller are trenchant and telling in their discussion of the possible end of the nation-state, and have some penetrating views on 'economic imperialism' and future changes in employment patterns and the standard of living under the domination of the global oligopolists."

*Publishers Weekly*



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## The Counterforce Syndrome:

A Guide to  
U.S. Nuclear Weapons  
and Strategic Doctrine

Robert C. Aldridge

### THE COUNTERFORCE SYNDROME: A Guide to U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine

Robert C. Aldridge. (second edition 1979) 86 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-008-7, \$4.95. This study discloses the shift from "deterrence" to "counterforce" in U.S. strategic doctrine. A thorough, newly-revised summary and analysis of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons and military policy including descriptions of MIRVs, MARVs, Trident systems, cruise missiles, and M-X missiles in relation to the aims of a U.S. first-strike attack.

### THE DAY BEFORE DOOMSDAY An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race

Sidney Lens. (1977) 274 pp, paper, Beacon, \$6.50. "... one of the most frighteningly important books of the year." Studs Terkel "The most thorough and readable account of the arms race yet written."

Richard J. Barnet "... the facts needed to arm humans for their most desperate struggle; to halt and reverse the arms race, to survive the invention of nuclear weapons by abolishing them."

Daniel Ellsberg

### TOWARD WORLD SECURITY: A Program for Disarmament

Earl C. Ravenal, et al. (1978) 32 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00. This proposal argues that in light of destabilizing new strategic weapons systems and increasing regional conflicts which could involve the superpowers, the U.S. should take independent steps toward disarmament by not deploying new "counterforce" weapons, pledging no first use of nuclear weapons, and by following a non-interventionist foreign policy.

### THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Marcus G. Raskin. (1979) 211 pp, paper, Transaction, \$5.95. This historical analysis of the national security state traces its evolution from a planning instrument to ensure national stability, mute class conflicts and secure the domestic economy to the basis for covert and overt imperialism. The debacle in Indochina, the genocidal nature of the arms race, and growing economic instability, however, signal the decline of this structure. This incisive study impels renewed public debate of national policy and purpose.

### RESURGENT MILITARISM

Michael T. Klare and the Bay Area Chapter of the Inter-University Committee. (1979) 14 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00. An analysis of the origins and consequences of the growing militaristic fervor which is spreading from Washington across the nation. The study examines America's changing strategic position since Vietnam and the political and economic forces which underlie the new upsurge in militarism.

### DUBIOUS SPECTER: A Skeptical Look at the 'Soviet Threat'

Fred Kaplan. (second edition 1980) ca 100 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-023-0, \$4.95. A thorough exposition and analysis of the myths and realities surrounding the current U.S.-Soviet "military balance." Kaplan's comparisons of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals and strategies provide the necessary background for understanding current debates on arms limitations and rising military costs.



Richard J. Barnet  
Co-author of GLOBAL REACH

### THE GIANTS Russia and America

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### MYTHS AND REALITIES OF THE 'SOVIET THREAT'

Proceedings of an IPS Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations, May 14-15, 1979. 27 pp, paper, \$2.00. Distinguished experts explore the prospect for change in the USSR, define the role of the Soviet military in Eastern Europe and assess the U.S.-Soviet military balance. Based on reliable data and analytical rigor, these statements debunk the myth of a new Soviet threat.

### THE NEW GENERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Stephen Daggett. (1980) 20 pp, paper, \$2.00. An updated summary of strategic weapons, including American and Soviet nuclear hardware. These precarious new technologies may provoke startling shifts in strategic policy, leading planners to consider fighting "limited nuclear wars" or developing a pre-emptive first strike capability.

### CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT: An Unfulfilled Promise

Michael T. Klare and Max Holland. (1978) 8 pp, Issue Paper, \$2.00.

A review of several aspects of current steps to reduce the amounts and sophistication of weapons sold, close loopholes in Carter administration policy on overall sales, especially to human rights violators, reduce secrecy, improve Congressional oversight, limit co-production arrangements and restrict sales of police and related equipment to authoritarian regimes abroad.

### THE PRICE OF DEFENSE A New Strategy for Military Spending

The Boston Study Group. (1979) 359 pp, cloth, Times Books, \$15.00.

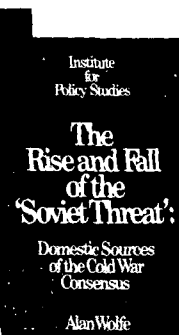
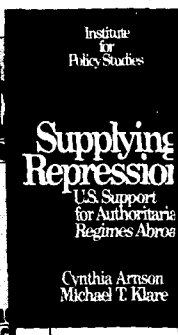
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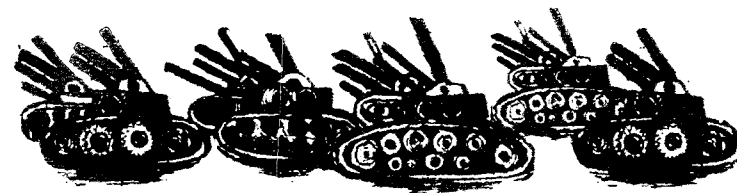
Earl C. Ravenal. (1978) 151 pp, cloth, Temple University, \$10.00.

This study identifies four versions of what went wrong with American foreign policy in the 1960's and what should be done to avoid similar failures. The "establishment" version is set against the "liberal critique," the "economic argument" and the "moral critique." All are criticized by Ravenal who urges that each of them calls for adjustments, not changes, and treats symptoms rather than causes. A fifth position is advanced, the author's own reconsideration of basic assumptions about the place of America in world affairs, the meaning we attach to a threat to our security, and the options we entertain in the face of such challenges.



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The first thoroughly documented report on the crimes and abuses of the U.S. intelligence agencies. Reviewing each agency's specific bureaucratic history of political spying, this work presents two case studies—the CIA campaign against Allende and the FBI vendetta against King.

### PEACE IN SEARCH OF MAKERS Riverside Church Reverse the Arms Race Convocation

Jane Rockman, Editor. (1979) 158 pp, paper, \$5.95.

A compilation of papers denouncing the proliferation of sophisticated weaponry, which threatens a nuclear cataclysm and destroys our society by diverting resources from social services and programs. This volume confronts the moral, economic, strategic and ethical aspects of the arms race and appeals for a citizen coalition to reverse the course of social decay and uncontrolled nuclear armament. Contributions by Richard Barnet, Michael Klare, Cynthia Arnson, Marcus Raskin and others.

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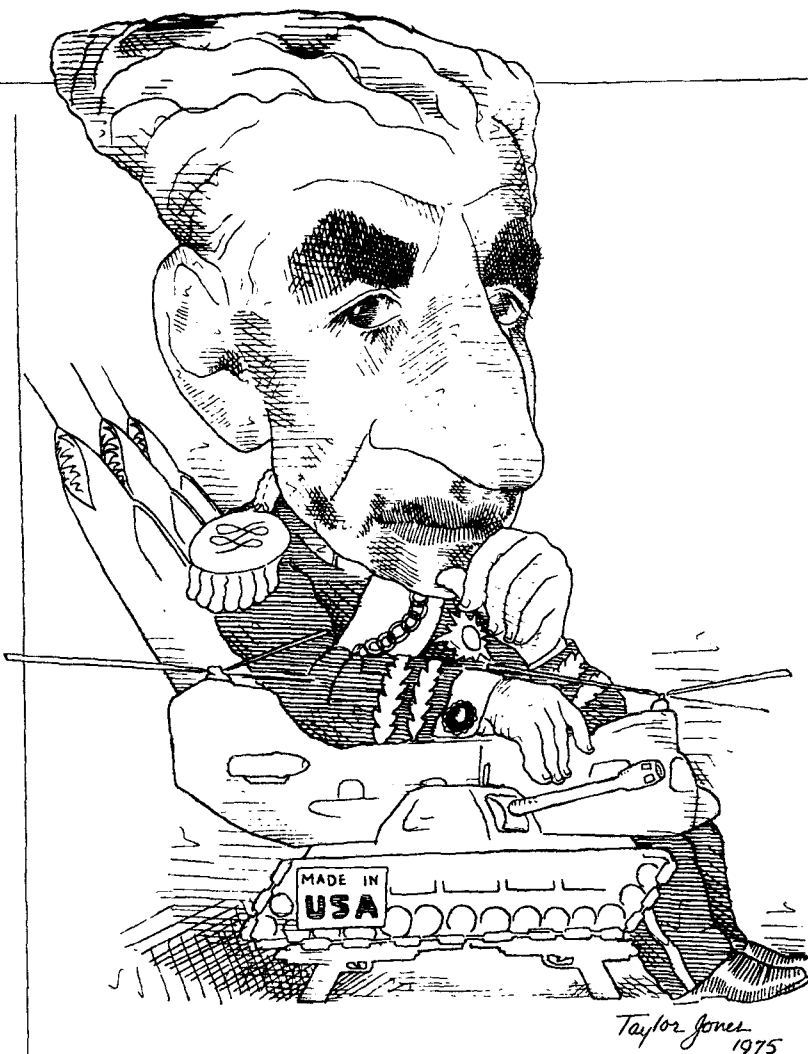
**Joseph Stork. (1975) 326 pp, paper, Monthly Review, \$5.95. The problem of oil and conflict in the Middle East placed in historical perspective with an analysis of the long-term economic and political forces which underlie the energy crisis and the crisis of Western monopoly capitalism.**

"This is a readable, well-documented analysis of the Middle East oil situation . . . highly recommended."

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*Daniel Volman. (1980) ca 24 pp,  
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A study of the growing military involvement of the two superpowers and their allies in Africa. Challenging the usual exclusive focus on Soviet and Cuban activities, the study suggests that the continuing escalation of French and American involvement threatens to engulf the continent in armed chaos and to bring the two superpowers into direct confrontation. Contains extensive data on African arms trade, the strength of African military forces, and the role of foreign military personnel.



*Bereket Habte Selassie. (1980)*  
288 pp, paper, *Monthly Review*  
Press, \$3.95.

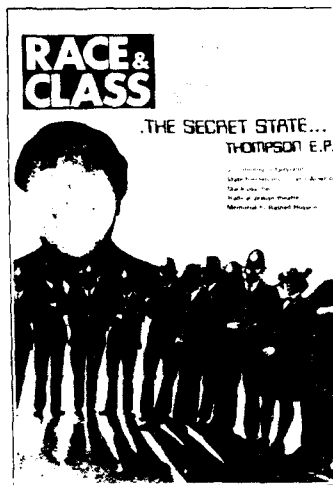
A thoughtful examination of the history and geography of the conflict in the Horn of Africa. Detailing the crucial role of intervention by the big powers and neighboring Arab countries in promoting present hostilities, this study also presents a history of Ethiopian expansionism and an analysis of the national forces fighting for self-determination in Eritrea.

*Elizabeth Schmidt. (1979) 12 pp, paper, \$1.50.*  
A summary of the Sullivan Principles, the fair employment code devised by U.S. corporations to deflect public criticism of their South African investments. (See book length version under "Forthcoming Titles.")

*Bernard Makhosezwe  
Magubane. (1979) 384 pp, cloth,  
Monthly Review Press, \$18.50.*

An historical analysis of the interrelationship between race and class in South Africa. Linking the displacement of indigenous Africans, the migrant-labor system and the development of "native reserves" to the present crisis, this study concludes with a discussion of the growing opposition movement.

**Kevin Danaher.** (1979) 28 pp, paper, \$3.00.  
This convenient reference manual lists 221 books and articles on U.S. involvement in South Africa. Citations present standard bibliographic information and a brief description of the work. Includes map, index, and addresses of other resource organizations and liberation movement offices in the U.S.



The quarterly journal of the Institute for Race Relations and the Transnational Institute. Articles examine the liberation movements of Africa and Asia, emerging state structures and ideology. Features also include book reviews, studies of Third World literature, the problems of women, workers and peasants. *"Race and Class* continues to have a valuable place in thought and discussion about a wide range of difficult issues; and for my part I would say that it has no effective competitor."

**Basil Davidson, Africanist**  
*Subscriptions: \$15.00 individuals; \$25.00 institutions.*

*Counter Information Services.*  
(1978) 56 pp, paper,  
ISBN 0-903660-19-9, \$2.95.

An update of events in South Africa since 1976. Despite a severe recession, continuing struggle and external criticism, the South Africa state has reaffirmed and increased its control. Supported by world banks, multinationals and governments with an economic stake in South Africa, the racist regime is implementing the "grand apartheid" by eliminating all blacks through the creation of home states.

*John S. Saul. (1979) 464 pp, cloth, Monthly Review Press, \$16.50.*

This incisive study identifies external control and internal inequality as obstacles to progress in the countries of Eastern Africa—Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. Linking revolutionary endeavors in Mozambique to the struggle in South Africa, this work examines the nature of the postcolonial state, the dynamics of bourgeois politics, the significance of tribalism, and the revolutionary potential of workers and peasants.

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"Engler makes clear how the oil companies manipulate prices... take advantage of real shortages to raise prices, ... extract the profits and slough off the loss associated with the energy crisis, ... control the pace of technological development... control demand."

*The Washington Post*

## THE POLITICS OF OIL Private Power and Democratic Directions

Robert Engler. (1961, 1967, 1976) 565 pp, paper, University of Chicago, \$5.95.

"The best available description of the political machinations of the oil interests, this book is being used as a resource for current Congressional investigations."

*Business and Society Review*  
"a study of the relation of power and responsibility... the oil industry... has become, in effect, a private government controlling most of the petroleum resources of the world."

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*Publishers Weekly*

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Michael Parenti. (Third edition 1980) 336 pp, paper, St. Martin's, \$7.95.

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A timely report on forward-thinking American cities and towns developing comprehensive programs and alternative energy systems. Encompassing projects conducted in a variety of communities, this practical guide documents the range of energy-efficient alternatives available for implementation on the local level.

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Tracing the origins of the energy crisis to vertical integration of the oil companies at the beginning of this century, this thoroughly researched study documents collusion between government and the energy industry in manipulating the flow of oil and proposes a detailed plan for a system of democratically controlled energy districts.

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Jeremy Brecher. (1979) 329 pp, paper, South End Press, \$5.50.

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A guide detailing channels for redirecting public pension fund assets to socially useful investments. This work surveys legal questions, portfolio management, political and institutional obstacles, and alternative investment opportunities. Includes a bibliography and glossary of terms.

## WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY

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Arguing that only structural reforms in the American economy offer solutions to inflation, unemployment, and welfare, this book examines public ownership and control of investment, worker ownership and representation on corporate boards, alternative technologies, and democratic economic planning. It concludes with a strategy for building a national movement for economic democracy in the 1980s.

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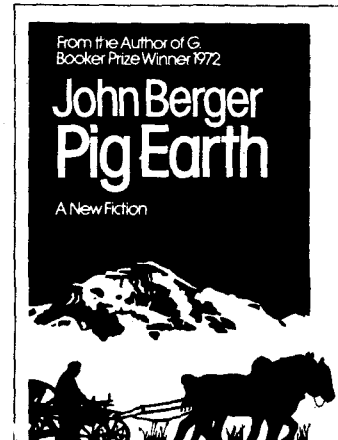
Joe Belden, Gibby Edwards, Cynthia Guyer, Lee Webb, Editors. (1979) 320 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89788-010-2, \$9.95 (\$14.95 for institutions).

A resource guide to farm, land and food issues. This working manual documents available policy alternatives and identifies proposals for anti-corporate farm acts, graduated land taxes, access to credit and land for family farmers, food co-ops and farmers' markets, and state and city food plans. Organization lists and extensive bibliographies accompany each section.

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expensive.")

U.S. auto corporations were reluctant to compete with the imports on price as well. In the midst of this record slump, Ford recently announced two price increases (then announced selected rebates). Last fall, major Japanese producers were planning to keep 1980 price increases to 3 percent above 1979. At the same time Detroit was raising its 1980 prices around 5 percent from the end of the 1979 model year and double that on small cars. That made many of the theoretical "import fighters" 20 percent more expensive than a year earlier.

When the dollar fell in relation to the yen and the mark in 1978, the effective price of imports rose sharply. "Freed from the restraints of Japanese competition, American manufacturers had two choices," *Consumer Reports* recently noted. "They could keep their own price increases moderate, undersell the Japanese by more than \$1000, offer huge bargains to the car-buying public, and try to regain at least some of the business captured by the imports in the previous years. Or they could capitalize on the absence of price competition to maximize profits now, without regard for long-range market share—and, of course, add to inflation here in the U.S."

No time was lost seizing the second option, and the reason is clear. In recent years, according to Chrysler, the variable profit—after fixed costs—has been about \$700 for a subcompact, \$1,500 for a large car and as much as \$5,400 on luxury models. With great demand for small cars, the industry can jack up the price, load the car with the super-profitable options (and make it difficult for buyers to find more stripped-down versions), and make far more profit on a subcompact, greatly narrowing the difference that led to the old truism in Detroit—"small car, small profit."

In recent years the historic downward trend in auto prices as a percentage of average earnings has been arrested, even though more small cars have been sold. The change to small cars will not herald the arrival of a cheap "people's car" but rather a variety of small but luxurious cars, crammed with many of the old options and sporting "a dashboard like Starship Enterprise," according to auto analyst David Healy. The high-price, high-profit electronic gadgetry will be a lucrative spin-off of the minicomputers that cars will increasingly need in any case to increase mileage and to minimize emissions.

Detroit manufacturers have argued that they were producing big cars in recent years not only because the public supposedly wanted them but also because the higher profits from those cars could finance the transition to small cars—a finesse that Chrysler tried to play and lost horrendously. Now it may be possible for smaller cars to bring in the capital. But Japanese imports and the general competition in the small car market check the price increases a little. "By hampering imports we do two bad things," says William G. Shepherd, a University of Michigan economist who studies the auto industry. "We raise the price of the car and cut back on fuel efficiency."

"If you make the current shortage of small cars even greater," argues Robert McElwaine, president of the American International Automobile Dealers Association, "import dealers will make up their lost income by raising prices on the few cars they sell. The domestic manufacturers will be able to inflate the price on their small cars to the point where they will make as much profit on small cars as they do on large ones."

Increasing international trade in automobiles is only one facet of the transformation that the world auto industry is now undergoing. The future will belong to the handful of auto companies that can span the globe, not only selling vehicles everywhere there is a market but also manufacturing autos and their components throughout the world. The current recession will hasten the trend toward concentration already well underway. The likely survivors of the next decade are GM, Ford, Peugeot-Citroen, Volkswagen, Toyota, Nissan (Datsun), Fiat and Renault. Chrysler, now in those

survive only if it merges with one or more foreign firms so it can function as an international company. Other companies will occupy specialty niches, often concentrated in certain national markets, but they will be dwarfed by the Big Eight (or Seven). Joint ventures in research and production, purchase of crucial parts from competitors, and investments by big firms in smaller ones (such as GM's 34 percent of Isuzu, Ford's 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, Chrysler's 15 percent of Mitsubishi and Renault's 22.7 percent of American Motors) will all increase. There may be more mergers across national boundaries, as in the case of Sweden's Volvo and the Dutch DAF.

Internationalization of production as well as marketing has been spurred by attempts to avoid tariff barriers, government requirements of local production of a substantial part of the car (mostly in the less-developed countries), the search for lower labor costs, lessened shipping costs or tax advantages and recognition of some of the economies of scale that come with worldwide production.

Academic economists have argued that economies of scale in the auto industry are reached at the level of 500,000 units, possibly even lower. Now technical economies of scale for production of some components, such as engines or the front-wheel drive transaxles are probably higher. Also, research and design costs, which will grow as the industry is pushed towards "reinventing the car," can be spread over greater numbers of vehicles.

**B**UT BIGNESS ALSO BRINGS more financial weight and market power. Bigger firms can deploy a more extensive dealer and repair network, weather business cycles better, change styling more frequently, get favorable terms for loans or accumulate large sums of capital internally. Some people in the industry even discount labor costs as a serious consideration, and argue that scale of operations is the overwhelming consideration. (Although Japanese auto workers are described as making slightly over half of what U.S. workers earn, there are large indirect labor costs as part of the paternalistic Japanese factory system that are not included in those figures, thus narrowing the real difference.)

But as the giants consolidate their power and either gobble up or benignly tolerate the smaller, specialized firms, they may find their drive for grander scales of operation stymied. The Economist Intelligence Unit estimates that world car production will increase by 8 percent from 1978 to 1985, compared to 43 percent over the eight preceding years. With soaring prices and with stagnant poverty in much of the underdeveloped world, there are limits to how far automobilization of the world can be pushed, as Lester R. Brown and others of the Worldwatch Institute argue in *Running on Empty*.

Competition will thus increase, but the economic stakes are so high that the major corporations and the affected nations are not likely to risk everything in unrestrained global warfare. Nations with auto industries will not lightly lose those jobs, and nations without well-developed auto industries will try, as they have already, to force corporations to build where they sell. But "multiple sourcing"—that is, having supplies of components coming from different factories in different countries—can benefit the auto companies as well by giving them some protection against a strike in one country or one key factory that could otherwise hold up the integrated worldwide production.

Few "American-made cars even now are all made in the U.S. Some models sold by American companies are 'captive imports' completely made overseas. As the *Wall Street Journal* noted recently, 'There probably is 'something foreign in everything' that the domestic company turns out, concedes a Ford Motor Company executive. The parts list for some current and future U.S. autos has a global flavor: engines from West Germany and Japan, brakes from Brazil, clutches from France, and so on, from Spain to Singapore.' By 1990 in-

**O**n the way around the old Detroit truism "small car, small profit" is to load small models with so many high-profit extras that the dashboard resembles the controls of the Starship Enterprise.



dustry sources predict that 15 percent of the components of the cars built in the U.S. will be made overseas.

U.S. companies are definitely on the move out of the U.S. even as they try to shore up the home front. Chrysler is the big exception, having jettisoned most of its overseas properties. GM is accelerating its expenditures overseas, trying to catch up with Ford while expanding its market share in the U.S. GM may invest \$35-40 billion in new factories and equipment over the next five years, and as much as \$18 billion of that is likely to be overseas. Ford recently canceled \$2.5 billion, or about one-fifth, of its planned North American capital budget through 1984 but continued its plans for around \$8 billion in capital expenditure—now about 40 percent of the total—in foreign operations.

**F**ORD'S EXPANDED DRIVE INTO the world car market shows some of the threat to American auto workers posed by the changing auto industry. Earlier this year Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) released internal Ford memoranda about plans to build a new four-cylinder gasoline and diesel engine plant in Mexico. Ford considered buying an engine from its Japanese partner, Toyo Kogyo, building that engine either in Mexico or the U.S., or entering a joint venture with Peugeot-Citroen to build a French-designed engine in Mexico. The memos concluded that Ford could buy a gasoline engine from Toyo Kogyo for \$998 or build it in Mexico for \$1,057 or in the U.S. for \$1,062. Since tooling costs for the Japanese engine would be higher, profits ultimately would be greater on the Peugeot engine, but the key to the decision was tax and export benefits in Mexico. Those reduced the cost of the engine—shipped to Detroit—to \$794 for the Japanese engine and \$738 for the Peugeot. In either case, the memo reads, "manufacturing the [Toyo Kogyo] engine in the U.S. has a substantially lower return than either of the Mexican alternatives." The result for American workers: a loss of over 3,000 jobs in the Cleveland area.

The memos very interestingly note a number of "governmental factors" and outlined a public relations strategy to keep the decision as secret as possible: "Sourcing the engine in either Japan or Mexico could increase congressional support for so-called 'runaway' plant or plant closing legislation.... The declining level of jobs in Cleveland might generate considerable activity in Congress by Representative Vanik of the Cleveland area and Senator Metzenbaum, who reflects UAW concerns. Much will depend on how seriously the Cleveland UAW local decides to protest the action.... [S]hifting engine production from Cleveland to either Japan or Mexico could generate serious new support [for plant closing legislation] in the Ohio legislature.... The juxtaposition of any such action with whatever push Ford may make to restrain Japanese imports needs to be weighed. The credibility of any effort we make to impose local content requirements or quotas on the Japanese could be undercut by our sourcing engines in Japan for Ford's U.S. cars."

Credibility, indeed, should be a problem. In the past few weeks Ford also announced plans for a modern four-cylinder engine factory in Austria and a joint venture with Toyo Kogyo to build four-cylinder engines and front-wheel drive transaxles in Hiroshima. Chrysler also announced a joint venture with Mitsubishi to build four-cylinder engines in Japan. General Motors earlier had announced plans for new factories in Spain, Austria, Australia, Taiwan, Argentina, Germany, Great Britain, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico, as well as Canada. Although most of these operations are designed to produce for international markets (which are not served by U.S. factory expansion), many of the parts in these plants will feed back into the U.S., especially in the growing small car market. For example, GM, Chrysler and Volkswagen—as well as Ford—are planning export of small engines from Mexico to the U.S. in the near future.

"We hear all this pressure on the Jap-  
Continued on the following page.



Continued from previous page.

anese to invest in the U.S.," Robert McElwaine says, "but the American manufacturers seem to be extremely unwilling to invest in the U.S. If every Japanese manufacturer came in here and built manufacturing facilities, that would only bring \$700 million in investment. This is a tiny part of what domestic manufacturers will invest outside the U.S. It would be a heck of a lot more logical for Ford to get their engines here rather than source them from Japan, Spain and Wales."

U.S. tax laws encourage the global expansion, McElwaine says: "The companies earned huge profits outside the U.S. for many years. As long as profits stay outside the U.S. they aren't taxed. They have this incentive to stay outside the U.S." Also, Ford's profit margin on sales was 2.5 percent in the U.S. in 1978 and 5.5 percent overseas.

**I**F THE RUSH TO FOREIGN PRODUCTION of the world car by Ford and GM represents some trend—increasing concentration and internationalized integration of production and marketing—Chrysler represents another trend in the world auto industry. Rather than lose a national industry, the government steps in. Half of the European auto industry is nationalized. Other privately held companies have received state loans and other aid. (The Japanese auto industry, now fairly self-sufficient, long received favorable credit terms and protection from the government.)

The recent election of UAW president Douglas Fraser to the board of directors of Chrysler is part of another, less prominent tendency for workers' representatives to have greater participation—at least symbolically—in auto corporation decisions. Yet there are also signs that competition and technological change at the workplace will intensify pressure on workers.

The Chrysler loan guarantee carries a genuine risk that government officials admit, but pressure to save jobs, the city of Detroit and a little more competition in the domestic industry won out. In the process of winning approval from private and governmental authorities, Chrysler progressively scaled down its plans. Last fall Chrysler talked about going down from its present five "platforms," or basic models, to three by 1985. Now they will go down to two platforms—a subcompact and a compact—by 1983, saving \$2.5 billion.

The Chrysler loan has come under attack for contravening free market discipline. But Professor Shepherd points up a more telling failure: "The mistake so far is giving money without asking anything in return. Any sophisticated government anywhere else would ask for a share of public ownership, giving the public back something for what they give."

In what other ways can—or should—the government either aid or direct the

auto industry? Consider a number of the most prominent recent proposals.

• **Import quotas.** Representative Ronald Mottl (D-Ohio) has proposed a five-year quota on autos, trucks and engines that would hold imports to 10 percent of domestic consumption. The UAW also wants a temporary quota. Ford, to some extent Chrysler, and to a much lesser degree General Motors are vaguely in favor of some restraint, either formal or informal, or requirements that the larger importers build cars, trucks and components here. Some European countries have informally negotiated quotas on Japanese imports and the Common Market tariff is 11 percent, compared with 3 percent in the U.S. and now nothing in Japan. But the Japanese have still made heavy inroads in Europe. The Japanese import very few cars, but the main barriers to U.S. cars are higher dealer costs and heavier taxes applied to all large cars.

The problem with quotas, beyond inviting trade retaliation, is that they would drive up the price of small cars dramatically. At the same time, there is no guarantee that overall purchases and employment would increase, since the only alternatives would be cars that people don't want. Fraser recommends U.S. six-cylinder cars when no four-cylinders are available. McElwaine calls it a "let them buy Cadillacs" philosophy.

• **Local content rules.** A number of less-developed countries have required auto companies to manufacture locally some specified part of any cars sold in the country. Until Volkswagen moved some of its Rabbit production here, foreign auto companies had not invested in the U.S. But as the mark soared against the dollar and German workers' wages outpaced American pay, building in the U.S. became the only method for VW.

Such pressures do not hold for the Japanese, who figure that they can make more manufacturing at home and shipping here. Honda, however, has announced plans for an auto plant in Ohio and Japanese light truck manufacturers are rapidly moving to establish their own factories or joint operations with American firms, since the quirk that allowed Japanese light trucks in with a 4 percent duty instead of a 25 percent duty will soon be ended, blunting the rapid Japanese penetration of the growing light truck market.

Local content rules wouldn't provide relief for U.S. workers for several years at best, but the UAW may be anticipating the demise of Chrysler as much as continued import success (although only a year ago *Business Week* reported, "The bloom is fading on imported cars.")

Building cars here forces the Japanese to surrender whatever competitive advantage they have from lower labor costs and economies of very large scale, but local content rules would not have as pernicious an influence as quotas, since there would still be some competition."

The UAW's impulse is understandable, but other countries can hardly be expect-

ed to sit by and not pass their own content rules or quotas. Eventually, the multinational auto companies will probably strike political deals to parcel out bits of production everywhere while holding on to ultimate control.

But the most important task for the UAW and sympathetic politicians is not trying to control the investment of Nissan and Toyota but rather getting control over the capital spending of Ford and General Motors. Thus far, the union has made imports, not control of capital, the centerpiece of its program.

• **Government regulations:** Predictably the auto companies want to take advantage of the crisis to minimize government regulation, even though the regulatory benefits to the public—and, with the fuel economy standards, to the industry itself—have been considerable. Safety and pollution standards apply across the board and shouldn't give foreigners an advantage. Greater safety could even be a competitive selling point against the Japanese small cars, which Center for Auto Safety director Clarence Ditlow says are weak on safety.

The biggest issue will be the fuel economy standards. First, there are a range of proposals to alter the tests to reduce the growing discrepancy between the EPA test scores (in the familiar circle in the auto ads) and actual performance—now an average of 21 percent variance. Beyond that there are proposals to extend the fuel economy standards, raising the target to 40 miles per gallon for the fleet average in 1995. Some observers think that U.S. manufacturers may slip back into their old ways if given a chance and must be pushed to keep them competitive and to save fuel.

The UAW argues that fuel savings might better be gained through other measures. As researcher Howard Young testified before a Senate committee recently, the percentage increase in miles per gallon is less from, say, 30 to 35 miles per gallon than from, say, 15 to 20 miles per gallon. Besides, these standards affect only new cars, roughly 7 to 9 percent of the whole fleet each year. The UAW wants the government to subsidize early scrapping of inefficient clunkers, which would obviously stimulate demand and provide more employment in the process.

Also, greater efficiencies in refining or production of alternative fuels might, the union argues, be more cost-effective than raising economy standards. The union also argues for conservationist pricing and taxing policies that eliminate the effective energy subsidy corporations now receive by writing off gasoline as a business expense and also raise gasoline prices for consumption above a basic minimum—a "gasline" proposal like the utility "lifeline."

Senator Henry Jackson, sponsor of the new fuel economy standards, wants an investigation of the costs and benefits of the standard before full debate sometime next year. Perhaps synthetic fuels would be cheaper and require less capital than complete turnover of the newly constructed auto plants, some people reason. Meanwhile, many foreign competitors are already reaching the proposed 1995 standards. VW has a turbocharged diesel that gets around 60 m.p.g. A VW representative told a Department of Energy committee, "If you want us to build an 80 m.p.g., four-passenger car by 1995, just tell us by 1985 and we'll do it," Ditlow reported.

Ultimately, the fuel economy standards and the UAW alternative proposals should not be seen as competitive. Both are needed.

• **Government financing:** Where should the taxpayers' money be used, if at all, to shape the auto industry? The Chrysler bail-out failed to get public equity, worker control or clear obligations from Chrysler that would protect workers and the public—but even with this weak legislation Chrysler has been streamlined and directed toward more efficient cars.

Now, in the absence of a satisfactory "income net" for displaced workers, the Trade Readjustment Act benefits are being used to bolster laid off auto workers' income. TRA benefits stretch out the corporate supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB), which with unemployment insurance gives workers close to 90 percent of their regular income. But even

so, the SUB funds may begin to run out this fall, well before auto employment picks up. And there is nothing to save the workers whose jobs will be lost as the industry uses fewer workers on small cars, increases computerization and robotization of production and shifts production of many components overseas. One UAW researcher estimates that the peak employment in the auto industry at the time of the next boom, probably 1982, will be 700,000, compared to the most recent peak of 860,000.

**S**HORT OF NATIONALIZATION OF the industry, which itself would provide more mechanisms for action than immediate answers (and would pose some interesting questions, such as what would it mean for the U.S. to nationalize Ford and GM in Europe or Latin America), the government could exercise influence on the industry through a centralized research program in new engines and other technology. In exchange for the technology and capital to implement it, the government would gain partial ownership.

With centralized, unduplicated costs of development, economies of scale in production would be lessened and smaller auto corporations could have a fighting chance. (As it is, antitrust action is virtually dead, even though GM now has more than 60 percent of domestic production.) Also, government sponsored research would break through the tendencies against innovation that come with mass production of autos, and help to develop new autos that would give American industry an international edge and a chance to sell U.S.-made cars overseas.

"The public is demanding a new product cycle," Richard John of the Transportation Systems Center says. "The question comes up: do you have targeted tax incentives? Do you target R&D investment? Do you target a car of the future as we did with a gas tax for highway construction?"

That means that the government and ultimately, one would hope, an informed citizenry would be forced to make some key decisions: do we want an auto industry? Do we want mass transit and, if so, how much and where? Do we want to convert part of the shrinking auto facilities and employ the laid-off workers to construct other needed goods, such as co-generating units based on methane-powered engines? Such decisions have been made before with land grants to the railroads, federal airport construction, or the highway trust fund, but they always were dictated by corporate interests.

"Detroit is a transportation manufacturing town," Howard Symons of Nader's Congress Watch says. "There's no reason why that can't continue with another bus manufacturer. Clearly there's a need if we're going to develop railroads in concentrated areas for that kind of industry. If the auto industry could convert to making fighter planes [in World War II], it could now convert to a more efficient transportation."

With enlightened leadership, the federal government could spur innovation in the auto industry, coordinate complementary energy policies and industry regulations, facilitate conversion to other useful production, such as mass transit, and progressively expand both public ownership and greater worker control within the firm.

This creative stimulus and planning would be the most promising response to the challenge of the imports. But in order to succeed, the public must be able to gain at least influence if not outright control over the investment of private capital in the auto industry. Control over imports and foreign investment is secondary, trading the pitfalls of lessening competitive discipline for the benefits of more Japanese investment in the U.S.

With the "world car" and internationalization of production, however, the auto industries may stretch beyond effective national control. Just as this transformation will push unions toward concerted action across national boundaries, it will also demand global economic cooperation and planning, either among the multinationals or among the many nations.

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MICHAEL RIVAS

## Cuba's refugees are both economic and political

**WRITING ABOUT THE CUBAN** Revolution has long been a risky business. Uncritical supporters tend to romanticize the process to the point of perfection. Uncritical opponents will cling to any excuse to avoid acknowledging the accomplishments. And both will jump at a minute's notice on people who, like this



writer, prefer to see ourselves as critical supporters who are ready to both admit the shortcomings and praise the accomplishments. I do not intend to deal here with the whole multifaceted process of the Cuban Revolution. Rather, at this point, I will attempt to shed some light on the matter of the new wave of refugees that has brought some perplexity to people on the left in the U.S.

However many political angles there may be to explore in the story of the current exodus—and there are many, not least of which is the exploitation by both the right-wing press and the White House—I think it more useful to focus on the background to the current situation. Two basic facts are clear beyond discussion: the Cuban government has decided to allow to let go all those who want to leave, and tens of thousands are availing themselves of that opportunity.

It will take time before we have meaningful data on the social composition of this new wave of Cubans, but an informal look at the crowd discovers a lot of elderly people, women, quite a few young people, and even a sprinkling of blacks. Hearing their own descriptions of their life in Cuba it is also obvious that blue collar workers are well represented. It would therefore be foolish to ignore the reality and attempt to explain away this new group of refugees as members of a "privileged class," as was done too indiscriminately with previous refugees. So, what is the source of this discontent and why is it happening now?

To answer these questions requires a look at the government's performance in recent years. The government's economic strategy has been geared, first of all, to building up a basic infrastructure for development (ports, airports, highways, railroads, merchant marine, transportation equipment, communications, construction materials) and to educating the technical corps that will run the economy. Another thrust has been increased mechanization of sugar cane harvesting and the development or expansion of export items, such as seafood, agricultural products and even cement. This emphasis on export over internal consumption is designed to create world markets for Cuban products and to accumulate capital necessary for development. Eventually, the plan contemplates a gradual shift of resources toward the satisfaction of internal resources toward the satisfaction of internal demands at reasonable prices.

Under the well known disruptive conditions imposed by the U.S. economic embargo and the documented CIA attacks of the past, the success of this strategy depends on various factors. These include the continuation of Soviet aid at reasonable terms, the management ability of those involved in planning and implementation at all levels of production, and the willingness of the population to endure sacrifices as well as the inconveniences of shortages, ration books, long lines, and simply improvising or doing without a lot of things. This last factor acquires even more importance because the pay-off for all that effort still seems to be years away. Last, but not necessarily least, luck is also a factor on a short-term basis, because of such unpredictable elements as weather, agri-

culture and animal diseases, and the fluctuations of world market prices.

Although that strategy has been fairly successful in some areas, economic conditions in Cuba in the last year and a half have been especially difficult because of a combination of some of the above factors. Cuba, as we know, was hit hard last fall by hurricane David, and the sugar crop this year was one of the worst in recent years after a period of very low prices for sugar in the world market. The tobacco leaf was also greatly affected by disease. The Cuban economy was therefore struck precisely where it could least afford it since sugar and tobacco remain its two main sources of foreign exchange.

Cuba's economic woes do not end there though. Even after allowing for the disruption created by the U.S. embargo, management of the economy has not been very successful as pointed out by various observers of the revolution through the years and more recently by Cuban government officials themselves. In fact, earlier this year President Fidel Castro replaced the heads of several ministries for that reason. More recently, armed forces minister Raul Castro in a well-publicized speech chastized bad management at all levels and deliberately pointed out that Cubans cannot continue blaming every economic mishap on the U.S. embargo.

After 20 years of revolution, some Cubans, hearing renewed calls to sacrifice for the sake of a better future, have lost patience. Several things have contributed to this. One is that an economy geared for export tends in the long run to create a feeling of alienation among those without access to the fruits of their labor. (Marxists should not be surprised by this, right?) The visits to Cuba of over 120,000 former refugees has also had a big impact. These visitors have advertised their well-being not only by spending a good sum for travel, but also by showering relatives and friends with gifts, and by their sometimes exaggerated descriptions of the life of abundance in the U.S.

The Cuban government has been aware of these problems and has recently moved to alleviate some shortages, particularly of food. They have now developed "free stores" where consumers can buy groceries and other items at higher prices than regular stores but on a first-come-first-served basis. When a given industry surpasses the level of production needed to satisfy the minimum quotas guaranteed to every family, the surplus is made available to the free stores. Another new program allows farmers who still own their land to sell freely in the open market whatever agricultural products they produce over and above their official quotas, which must be sold to government-run enterprises at a set price.

Measures such as these, as well as the recent administrative shake-up will probably be helpful in the long run. However, they are not sufficient in and of themselves to deal with the immediate dissatisfaction of those less committed to the revolution. The expression of that dissatisfaction is often interpreted as counter-revolutionary behavior and thus becomes

a political problem (that, by the way, is not always and probably not even often, official policy, but rather the pressure of fellow workers and neighbors). It should also be pointed out in this regard, that because of ideological or other reasons, the Cuban leadership has not yet allowed room for a political way to channel dissatisfaction and dissent.

To the degree that this is true, and given the fact that political and economic questions cannot be neatly separated, those new refugees can probably make a case for considering themselves political exiles. It is indeed sad that this is happening at a time when the Cuban political system has been involved in a process of political consolidation that is also reducing its level of authoritarianism. This process has included the creation of constitutional structures; delegation of authority from the central government to municipal and provincial levels including the election of many functionaries; the freeing of most political prisoners; and the very act of allowing Cubans from the U.S. to visit the island. Indicative of that better atmosphere, and a real irony at that, was the fact that over 80 percent of those who sought asylum at the Peruvian embassy several weeks ago felt they could trust the government's promises enough to return to their homes safely and wait there till it was time to leave the country.

To do full justice to the situation one must also realize that if the U.S. were to open its doors to the people of any Central or South American country, proceeded to welcome those who came as heroes and then organized all kinds of support mechanisms to help them start their new life here, millions of people would surely

be here overnight. This would be a tempting offer even to poor people of this country as told in jest by Alan Arkin's poignant film of the '60s, *Papi*, about a Puerto Rican father with two children who tried to pass them as Cuban refugees to give them the benefits he couldn't provide.

Regardless of their motivation, the new Cuban refugees will surely miss some very basic human services that no poor Latin American (or North American, for that matter) can take for granted: child care, free universal education, complete health care, full employment, and a virtually crime and drug free society.

In closing I would like to remind the readers that these troubles in Cuban society that help explain the new wave of refugees have been freely and candidly pointed out by Cuban officials themselves. In light of those facts, the task for the left in the U.S. is to avoid spending any kind of energy in animosity toward the refugees but rather to renew efforts, in what has to be an extremely difficult political year, to end the U.S. embargo as well as other acts of hostility against Cuba. One would hope that if such policies that still so significantly distort the Cuban economic and political system are ended, the Cuban government will be able substantially to improve the economic situation and eventually allow the political system to deal with dissatisfaction in a more creative, less divisive manner.

■ *Michael Germinal Rivas emigrated from Cuba in the 1960s. He is coordinator of the Hispanic Affairs commission of the DSOC and a national vice-chair. He has visited Cuba frequently in recent years.*

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### May 30/Gary, IN

The Citizens Party invites you to an evening with vice-presidential candidate **LaDonna Harris** and chairman of State of Illinois' Citizens Party **Quentin Young**. Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Susse Chalte on U.S. Highway 20. Admission is free. For more information call: (219) 938-0429.

### May 31/Chicago, IL

**Erwin Knoll**, editor of *The Progressive*, and **John H.F. Shattuck**, ACLU Director/ Washington DC, will speak on "The Civil Liberties Connection in the 80's: Nuclear Power, the Draft and the CIA," at the Annual Spring Supper of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, at De Paul University, 2324 N. Seminary. Admission is \$10.00. For more information call (312) 939-0675.

### June 1/Santa Monica, CA

A book party will be held for **Derek Shearer**, co-author of *Economic Democracy—The Challenge of the 1980s*, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. at the Bookshop in Ocean Park, 212 Pier Ave. For information or directions call: 396-3659.

### June 3/Long Island, NY

**Jack Everett Defense Fund Benefit Concert**. Formerly a construction worker at the Shoreham nuke, Jack lost his job for publicly testifying to defects. **Guy Davis, Kate Rotolo, and Pete Seeger** will make music to raise funds for Jack's court battle for a worker's right to speak out. 7:30 p.m. Tuesday, Suffolk Theater, Riverhead. \$5.00. Tickets and information: Shoreham Defense Committee, 3 Highland Road, Glen Cove, NY 11542.

### June 7/Philadelphia, PA

**The Caribbean: U.S. Policy and Self-Determination**. Workshops on Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Vieques,

Haiti, Cuba and Grenada and U.S. military and economic strategy. A public seminar co-sponsored by Friends Peace Committee and American Friends Service Committee. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Fourth and Arch Streets. Call (215) 241-7230.

### June 8/San Francisco, CA

Modern Times Bookstore sponsors a forum on "Politics and the Media" by authors **Laurence Shoup** and **Todd Gitlin**. They will speak on "The Establishment Media and the 1980 Elections: The Case of John B. Anderson" and "The Media and the Left." Sunday at New College, 777 Valencia St., 7:30 p.m. Admission free. Information: (415) 621-2675.

### June 11/Chicago, IL

**Economic Democracy**. A book party and reception for **Derek Shearer**, co-author of *Economic Democracy—The Challenge of the 1980s*, will be held from 5:30 to 8:00 p.m. at the Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, (Tel. 975-3670). Copies of the book will be available and the author will give a short talk. Co-hosted by the Midwest Academy and IN THESE TIMES.

### June 13-15/Stephentown, NY

Berkshire Forum presents: "Nutrition: Science, Myth, Politics," with **Marcella Katz** and **Patricia Wolman**. For full schedule of weekend vacation workshops, call or write: Berkshire Forum, Stepentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

### June 19-21/New York, NY

**Intellectual Labor and Class Struggle**, will be the theme of the **Marxist Union Conference** at New York University. The conference will have many speakers and workshops of interest to Marxists. Registration begins at 7:30 p.m. at Schimmel Auditorium in the Tisch Building, 40 W. 4th Street.

### July 19-26/Lake Winnepesaukee, NH

**Avon Institute**—a gathering focused on the issues of the '80s, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. Resource persons include: civil rights activist **Bob Moses**, labor lawyer **Staughton Lynd**, South African woman exile **Motlalepula Chabaku** and artist **Fritz Eichenberg**. Special children's program. Brochure from: A.F.S.C., 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.



ROBERTA LYNCH

## Women writers are taking today's rare creative risks

AT THE RISK OF REVEALING my carefully suppressed streak of female chauvinism, I have to say that I am increasingly convinced that much of our most important contemporary fiction is being produced by women writers. It is in their ranks that one finds a sense of moral purpose combined with a willingness to take creative risks that is all too rare today. ¶It is not



surprising, then, that a small but growing number of female authors are taking on the challenge of writing what may be one of the most suspect genres in the literary canon—the political novel. (In some ways I believe that all fiction is “political” to one degree or another, but some is more deliberately so in its intent.)

There are few artistic feats more difficult to pull off than this conscious merger of political ideas and fictional form. Beyond the perennial threat of the scorn of the critical establishment, there is the far greater jeopardy of compromising one's own aesthetic or ideological integrity by sacrificing one aspect to the other.

Yet three women have recently published political novels that are receiving considerable popular and critical acclaim: *Vida* by Marge Piercy; *The Bleeding Heart* by Marilyn French; *Burger's Daughter* by Nadine Gordimer.

Each of these books in its own way represents a courageous attempt to strip away the lies and half-truths that gird an oppressive social order. Yet to praise the bravery of the undertakings should not require uncritical applause for the results. Just as the authors have to be willing to mine their own experiences in order to shape such stories, so we have to be able to speak of the ways in which their ef-

forts succeed or fail in illuminating our own lives. For it is only through such a process that we can begin to create a body of political fiction that is rooted in personal and social truth.

*Vida* is a rich and industrious book. It describes the development of Vida Asch, '60s political activist and '70s underground radical in intricate and intimate detail. By interweaving a focus on the process of her political growth with an exploration of her personal relationships, the book traces the emergence of a feminist consciousness in all its complex and intense moments.

As with much of Piercy's work, *Vida* is immensely readable. In its attempt sympathetically to unravel the tangled strands that led privileged young people to choose the lives of social outcasts, it provides a valuable social chronicle. And in its diligent concern for the values of collectivity and connectedness, it offers a critique of the fierce individualism that dominates our culture.

But ultimately there is an emptiness at the center of this book—a failure fully to integrate the political ideas or to create characters that have a vitality in their own right. One critic comments: “Her lovers represent the various attitudes and factions of the movement itself.”

They do. In fact, everyone in this book

seemed to represent something. And for me that's the problem. I couldn't care very much about these characters. Only in occasional flashes do they engage. Mostly they drift from page to page, carriers of ideas, but lacking some essential spark.

Piercy's portrayal of “the movement”—meant to be a frank depiction of its weaknesses and its strengths, I'm sure—ends up being disturbingly narrow in its political grasp. She seems to suggest that the only roads taken in the last decade were either the moderated extremism of neo-Weatherman politics or the pseudo-radicalism of those who sold out to careers or comfort.

To those who weren't there the book will seem as much history as novel—and the result is that in *Vida* a partial truth comes dangerously close to being presented as the whole picture. Or in the words of the *New York Times* critic Elinor Langer: “Marge Piercy tells us *exactly* how it was in the lofts of the left as the '60s turned into the '70s... This is the way everybody sounded... This is the way everybody behaved...” (emphasis mine).

*The Bleeding Heart* is the story of Dolores and Victor, Americans who meet in England and become entangled in a year-long odyssey of emotional discovery. Dolores is a college professor; Victor, a businessman. Both are in their forties and both are the scarred survivors of bad marriages. Their involvement is shaped by Dolores' attempt to understand female history—the sources and the depth of the differences and divisions between men and women.

It is hard not to feel a certain admiration for the risks that French takes in this work.

*Heart* dares to expose what happens when women refuse to play games any longer or rely on traditional female wiles to get their way in relationships. (And in so doing it exposes how many relationships still operate on those terms.)

Dolores insists on knowing her own needs and asserting them—even at the cost of appearing those worst of female pejoratives: a bitch or a nag. And by portraying Victor as a sensitive and caring man who still simply assumes his own power and uses it, *Heart* presents a vivid picture of the radically different concerns and expectations that men and women bring to relationships.

Despite my respect for French's determination to lay bare these underlying realities, whatever the price, I still felt that in the end *The Bleeding Heart* leaves us too narrow a sense not of men, but of women and their potential for change. French recognizes that it is women who live much more directly inside the relationship. Yet she seems only to want men to join them in that intensity. She never seriously looks at the possibility that part of the transformation of these inequalities might involve women shifting their energies more into the world.

It is this intensely inward focus that makes *The Bleeding Heart* a bleak book. There is no women's movement, no network of friends, no concrete sense of the ways in which Dolores is part of something larger than herself. Without this, it is more about pessimism than about possibilities. In essence, a novel that was supposed to start where *The Women's Room* left off also ends where it left off—with a solitary woman—one with little human connection—facing down history.

*Burger's Daughter*, on the other hand, is thick with insight into the nature of lives lived in acute awareness of this connection. Rosa Burger is the daughter of the most prominent white Communist in South Africa. At his death she begins to question the political commitment that shaped their lives. Locked within her family history—and the consequent oppression by the state and assumptions by political comrades—Rosa attempts to live a “normal” life. Eventually she goes to Europe seeking some final escape from the claims of the past—only to discover that the present has claims of its own.

I have to confess that I am in awe of writing about this book. It is such a remarkable achievement that the standard words of praise seem simply to graze its surface.

Gordimer is an author of rare gifts.

Her style is at once intensely poetic and brilliantly incisive. It is difficult to open to a single page without falling upon a sentence that strikes to the heart of an idea or an emotion. (Take for instance her description of political clichés: “They are an attempt to habituate ordinary communication to overwhelming meanings in human existence.... They become enormous lies incarcerating enormous truths, still extant, somewhere.”)

Gordimer never lectures or harangues. Yet she manages to evoke with immense power the reality of a poisoned social order. She calls up its pain and its terror through incidents and images that can chill the soul.

Although *Burger's Daughter* is the story of deeply political people, it is not the accounts of their activities or ideological struggles that place this book in the ranks of the truly great political novels. It is rather its willingness to hold their most basic beliefs and their underlying motivations up to careful scrutiny and by this route to arrive at an awareness of the essential impulse that must be at the source of any genuinely liberatory political philosophy—the lived recognition that each of us is a social being, bound to each other by a complex web of history, custom and destiny.

This is not the story then of how a woman becomes “political” but of how she becomes a fuller human being.

I know it is often unfair to make comparisons, but I read these three novels on the heels of one another and it was impossible to avoid seeing the weaknesses of the first two in the light of the strengths of the third.

*Vida* and *The Bleeding Heart* each clearly has as its intent the creation of a feminist character who can illustrate the changing role and potential of women. *Burger's Daughter* does not offer this kind of direct identification with feminist issues at all. Yet there is a sense in which the latter is a much more radically feminist work.

For, in essence, both *Vida* and *Bleeding Heart* are locked within traditional female concerns. The overriding element in these books is precisely what has always dominated women's fiction—the obsession with love. To the extent that *Vida* and Dolores seek freedom, it is not so much an active projection into the world as it is an attempt to escape from the bonds of emotional attachment. Whatever other elements may be present—and in *Vida* there are several—this is the primary tension at the center of these works.

For Rosa, the issues are much larger. In fact, they are the ones that literature has traditionally defined as the profound questions of human existence—and then reserved for men in their actualization. They have to do with understanding one's place in the world, one's connection with others, and the meaning of selfhood.

It is the tension produced by this search for meaning that enlivens *Burger's Daughter* and that allows Rosa to emerge as a distinctly complex and autonomous female character.

Finally, the differing qualities of these books illustrate that the political novel cannot be judged on whether it presents the “right” ideas. It is rather a matter of the extent to which it touches the reader in a way that reaches the core at which we are all political beings.

In *Vida* and *The Bleeding Heart*, the politics still seem strangely extraneous to the essence of the characters and the story. Though there is no doubting the authors' passion or commitment to their ideals, they remain unable to communicate them in a way that helps to shape a collective vision.

*Burger's Daughter* is such an extraordinary work because it does just that: it offers us a new way of seeing, a gift of lucidity and compassion. It approaches *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in that rare ability to so merge politics and art that they no longer seem dual elements, but an altogether different form—one that ineluctably takes the part of our humanity and affirms our potential to re-make our lives.

Robert Lynch is a member of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

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# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## MUSIC



Above, Morris dancers at Winnipeg Folk Festival; below, U. Utah Phillips with traditional singer Paddy Graber.

# Folk festivals flower in north

By Emily Friedman

*We may want to imitate the Canadian government's subsidy for folk festivals.*

The North American folk festival season is starting up again, and once again, many American aficionados of alternative music will go up to Canada for some of the fine festivals north of the border. Some of them will come home wondering why the U.S. government doesn't provide the kind of financial support for festivals in this country that the Canadian government provides.

Under Trudeau, Canada developed a much more aggressively protective attitude about its own musical culture, and the provincial governments have followed suit to some degree. The results have been mixed.

On the one hand, government support has helped fine gatherings like the Winnipeg Folk Festival to flower, and "folk train," with performing musicians on board, will tour the province of Alberta this summer, bringing folk music to isolated areas. On the other hand, as any American musician will attest, it has become increasingly difficult for American performers to get into Canada to perform. The much-maligned "Canadian content rule" (which provides that Canadian federal funding is available only if a significant number of the participants are Canadian) has protected Canadian music but also has generated a certain amount of mediocrity. (The U.S. border is just as much of a stone wall for Canadian artists, and the harassment of musicians on both sides is growing.)

In the U.S. federal funding is much more limited and selectively provided than in Canada, but it does exist. Those festivals graced with government money are few, but most of them are excellent. The problem is that the feds have provided a definition of "folk music" restrictive enough to make the Canadian content rule look broad-minded. A festival with federal funding must book virtually only traditional talent—first-genera-

tion practitioners of musical arts that they grew up with in their families and communities.

Bless the feds for wanting to nurture these people—bluesmen like Roosevelt Sykes, balladeers like Almeda Riddle, fiddlers like Tommy Jarrell, and so on—because they are getting on in years and many have died. However, this policy means that newer forms of music, and younger artists who are reviving the folk arts but who did not grow up in traditional folk music communities, get almost no support. If you're from Brooklyn and want to perform the arts of the Morris dancer, Ozark-style fiddler, or North Carolina-style balladeer, good luck! There won't be any federal money for you. We are still privileged to have a few truly traditional artists around, but in a collapsing economy, with prohibitively high gasoline prices, the revivalists, the topical songwriters, the feminist singers, and—Lord knows—the leftist musicians are having a rough time making it. In 20 years, when the original artists are all gone, today's revivalists may all be selling insurance.

A more liberal government policy toward folk festival funding would be helpful. It could follow the lead of New Orleans and Louisiana, where a fantastic Jazz & Heritage Festival (IN THESE TIMES, May 14) receives enthusiastic support. My only fear is that the money might have strings dangling off it. But for the struggling U.S. folk festi-

vals—and a few more die each year—the Canadian policy looks awfully good.

That said, let me present a few festivals that you could support by attending them. They are listed in chronological order, and they are only a tiny sample. For the 1980 *Calendar of Festivals*, which lists hundreds of them, write to the National Council for the Traditional Arts, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1118, Washington, DC 20036, and enclose a check or money order for \$4.00.

•**The National Women's Music Festival** (May 29-June 1, Champaign, Ill.) It's a little late for this one, but remember it for next year; all forms of women's music, and the best of its kind in the country. National Women's Music Festival, P.O. Box 2721, Station A, Champaign, IL 61801, (217)333-6443.

•**Great Hudson River Revival** (July 21-22, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.). A big, eclectic, daytime celebration of many musics, held as a benefit for the *Clearwater* ecology sloop project. Clearwater, 112 Market St., Poughkeepsie, NY 12601, (914)454-7673.

•**National Folk Festival** (July 11-13, Wolf Trap National Farm Park, Vienna, Va.). One of the federally-supported festivals, with all-traditional talent from many cultures. National Folk Festival, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, #1118, Washington, DC 20036, (202)296-0068.

•**Winnipeg Folk Festival** (July 11-13, Birds Hill Park, near Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada). A giant gathering, featuring mostly Canadian and American talent and a dose of political consciousness. Winnipeg Folk Festival, 171 Lilac St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3M 1S1, (204)284-9840.

•**Vancouver Folk Music Festival** (July 18-20, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada). Big, eclectic, and politically aware, with Canadian and American acts, many from western parts of both countries. Vancouver Folk Festival, 453 W. 12th Ave., Vancouver, BC, Canada V5Y 1V4, (604) 682-7551.

•**Toronto Folk Festival** (July 25-27, Toronto, Ontario). A new entry this year, it will try to fill the gigantic hole left by the decentralization of the magnificent and long-running Mariposa Folk Festival. A tall order. Toronto Folk Festival, 24 Ryerson Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada M5T 2P3, (416)362-7555.

•**North Country Folk Festival** (July 25-27, Ironwood, Mich.). A marvelous regional festival, accenting traditional music and crafts. North Country Folk Festival, P.O. Box 189, Ironwood, MI 49938, (906)932-4231.

•**Owen Sound Summerfolk Festival** (Aug. 15-17, Owen Sound, Ont., Canada). A small, very lovely, very Canadian gathering on the shore of Lake Huron. Georgian Bay Folk Society, Box 521, Owen Sound, Ont., Canada N4K 5R1, (519)371-2995.

•**Philadelphia Folk Festival** (Aug. 22-24, Old Poole Farm, near Schwenksville, Pa.). The last of the really big U.S. festivals, also the most commercial, despite significant improvements in recent years. Philadelphia Folk Festival, 7113 Emlen St., Philadelphia, PA 19119, (215) 247-1300.

•**Frontier Folklife Festival** (Aug. 22-24, Gateway Arch, St. Louis, Mo.). Another federally-supported gem, this one featuring regional traditional artists from the southern Midwest. Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 11 N. Fourth St., St. Louis, MO 63102, (314)425-6004.

•**Equinox Festival** (Sept. 12-14, Madison, Wisc.). A consciously alternative festival, heavy on political and traditional music. Equinox Festival, 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, WI 53715, (608)257-5815.

•**Walnut Valley National Guitar Flat-Picking Championship and Folk Arts & Crafts Festival** (Sept. 18-20, Winfield, Kan.). Despite the ungainly name, this is a celebration of American country music old and new, with lots of instrumental contests. Walnut Valley Association, Box 245, Winfield, KS 67156.

•**SMU Eisteddfod** (Sept. 26-28, North Dartmouth, Mass.). The "SMU" is for Southeastern Massachusetts University, host of this mostly British and Celtic festival. SMU Eisteddfod, SMU, North Dartmouth, MA 02747, (617)999-8166.

Emily Friedman is the editor of *Come for to Sing* folk music magazine.



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The Eugene V. Debs Foundation is a non-profit membership organization which exists to foster the great legacy of Debs as a labor and socialist leader, a spokesman for peace and civil rights, and a fighter for social justice. The Foundation carries on educational activities among labor, academic, and community groups, offers scholarships, and supports original research and publication in labor and radical history.



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# Berger

Continued from page 16.

letariat. And it seems to me that more and more this area is going to become important.

A recent and extremely important manifestation of this is what is happening in Iran. We in the West have Iran explained to us in terms of muslim fanaticism, and the terrible medieval character of the tyrant Khomeini. This completely ignores the reason why the present regime in Iran, at least for the moment, has the overwhelming support of the mass of the population. Twenty-five years ago the masses were peasants and nomads and now many of the live in cities. It is partly that brutal and very rapid transformation that leads them now to questioning the notion of progress as proposed and imposed on Iran by the West. And if they have an equal suspicion of the Soviet Union it is partly because they see there many of the same values.

I am not suggesting that a return to the past is possible. I'm not ignoring the absolute necessity of greater material productivity for the benefit of most people in the world. But you have to establish a balance, to see the conflicts, both physical and in value systems.

*What is the possible role in that of artists and intellectuals in the West?*

There is a role, a very important one. Our culture, our economic system, our belief in our own interpretation of progress—all those are based on certain axioms we learn, but because they're axioms they are scarcely questioned. It's very important for thinkers and artists to question those axioms from within, because oddly enough they're the only people in the world who can do that.

For example, the sacrosanct value we give to what we term individuality, which in fact is only one historically determined solution to the question that every person is unique and at the same time must live as a social being. But we take the sacrosanct nature of what we define as individuality as an axiom. Or the notion that sexual freedom leads to happiness—this is a fairly recent axiom. It wasn't a 19th century one, but it is a very, very strong 20th century one. It is not necessarily true.

The axiom that happiness depends on leisure and not work—this axiom depends on the fact that the conditions and frustrations of work are such that it is very, very hard for us to imagine that work is an essential part of the human condition and a condition for man as a species to fulfill its destiny.

The axiom that democracy necessarily depends on so-called parliamentary democracy, as we know it. The axiom that by planning, that by organizing in one way or another, tragedies can be avoided—we banish the category of tragedy from our view of life, and that of course is very, very closely connected with our notion of progress. This then means that the tragedies of the past have always been mistakes due to ignorance, which our knowledge, at least in theory, is capable of overcoming. It is the axiom of a kind of complacency.

There are many more, which it seems to me it is the duty of artists and thinkers in the Western world to question from within. And I would see that as a political task because by such questioning, there is just some chance that we can save time. If we do that, the examples will surely be noticed in those who live outside the Western world, outside the industrial world, outside the world that those axioms.

They may save time, because even when you have major world conflicts of interest, very frequently the same mistakes are made again. They're not made forever, but they're made again, and that is a waste of time, and time is extremely short now.

©1980 Cineaste

A different version of this interview, focusing on Berger's film work with Alain Tanner, will appear in Cineaste.



Greek peasant, 1954. "Peasants still make up the majority of people in the world," John Berger says, "and Marxism has failed to understand the peasant experience."

## Euroleft

Continued from page 6.

way to turn one way or another, to military buildup or to diplomatic explorations that could eventually produce major changes in central Europe.

Even after defeat of the party's left wing and concessions to Schmidt, the SPD platform adopted at the West Berlin congress last December scarcely coincides with NATO hinking. The SPD defines "security policy" as a combination of "detente and defense policy." The platform called for a constructive attitude: "The rival nations and alliances should believe in each other's willingness to secure peace, they should also be outspoken about this belief and refrain from imputing the contrary to each other."

A recent poll commissioned by Schmidt showed that 45 percent of West Germans saw eventual military neutrality of East and West Germany as an appropriate measure to assure peace, compared to 34 percent opposed. The fact that the question is being asked is almost as significant as the favorable answer. In the same poll, 60 percent were against stationing new nuclear weapons on West German soil, and 52 percent were against (compared to 26 percent for) unconditional support to U.S. foreign policy.

### The Socialists' role.

In groping after arrangements to assure peace in Europe, a special role seems reserved for the Socialist International. This is something new. In the Cold War of the '50s, the Socialist International specialized in anti-communism. That was a generation of Social Democrats embittered by Communist takeovers in the European countries occupied by the Red Army.

Much has changed since. For one thing, it was Communists trying to democratize socialism who were defeated by Soviet tanks in Czechoslovakia in 1968, which has moved the center of criticism of the Soviet system well to the left of social democracy. For another, the slowing of economic growth in the West has undercut the base of social democratic welfare state expansion. As a result, some of their political problems are beginning to bear more resemblance to those of East European leaders. In particular, armament is not only a danger but an economic burden, a drain on resources that could otherwise help relieve the dangerous disparity between industrialized and developing countries without demanding sacrifices that the working class of the developed countries is not willing to accept (the Socialist Inter-

national and the Italian Communists make the same analysis of this problem, which also exists in the East, where Soviet aid to Indochina, for instance, is limited by the combined demands of Soviet consumers and the Soviet war industry).

Another factor, perhaps the most decisive, in changing the role of the Socialist International is the SPD's *Ostpolitik*, which may turn out to have been the most important European development of the past decade. After all, it was the father of *Ostpolitik*, Willy Brandt, who renovated the moribund S.I. in 1976. Its efforts to develop its own network of North-South relations is related to its approach to East-West relations, to insistence on the need for detente and disarmament.

S.I. parties are strongest in the countries that run through the middle of Europe. Whether neutral, like Sweden and Austria, or in NATO like West Germany, their geographical position gives these countries a special interest in avoiding East-West conflict.

At the Vienna meeting of party leaders, S.I. chairman Willy Brandt stressed the need to keep all East-West communication channels open, in particular by holding the third (after Helsinki and Belgrade) Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Madrid—probably next November, at the very time and place where the S.I. itself is to hold its next biannual congress.

### The Communist response.

The Warsaw Pact states have been showing approving attention to the Socialist International's concern for detente and disarmament. At a meeting of European Communist parties held in Paris at the end of April (which called for cancellation of the decision to station new U.S. nuclear missiles in NATO countries, ratification of SALT II, creation of nuclear-free zones, holding of the Madrid conference and of a European disarmament conference in Warsaw), Soviet delegate Boris Ponomarev stressed his government's interest in "the attitude of the Social Democratic parties, of the Socialist International, towards these problems"—even though he also deplored the "manifest divorce" between the positions of these parties and "the actual policies of the states they govern."

At the Paris meeting, East German communist party delegate Hermann Axen recalled that his boss, Erich Honecker, had sent personal letters to the leaders of socialist and social democratic parties asking them to use their influence in favor of disarmament and detente. "Moreover, we have had fruitful talks with officials of several socialist parties," the East German added. "The meeting of Socialist International leaders in Vienna also brought out their uneasiness at the worsening situation.... The desire for dialogue on safeguarding peace and pursu-

ing the detente process is growing in socialist and social democratic parties."

These friendly nods to the parties of the Socialist International looked like a slap in the face of the Paris meetings' host, French Communist Party leader George Marchais, who seemed to have co-sponsored (with the Polish party) the gathering precisely as part of his current effort to exacerbate his party's differences with the French Socialist party. Not long before the meeting, Marchais had railed against Italian Communist Party (PCI) leader Enrico Berlinguer for holding friendly talks with French Socialist leader Francois Mitterrand. After the PCI, along with several other communist parties including the Spanish and Yugoslav, refused to accept Marchais' invitation, there was some expectation that the Paris meeting might be used to officially condemn Eurocommunist heresy, but nothing of the sort happened.

### A "Euroleft."

Meanwhile, the PCI has been discreetly advancing its own policy of rapprochement with Europe's socialist and social democratic parties. This rapprochement has already received its journalistic label of "Euroleft." This is quite premature, in that anti-communism remains strong in many S.I. parties and chumminess with the PCI is seen by some as betrayal of the Italian Socialists and Social Democrats. The rapprochement is semi-clandestine and hard to evaluate. It is being pursued by those individual socialist leaders who recognize the similarities in political outlook and are interested in exploring the usefulness of the PCI's impressive network of international contacts.

This network is an asset that some in the S.I., with their interest in developing East-West and North-South contacts, can appreciate—especially since the PCI's proclaimed international aims are exactly the same as those of the S.I.: detente, disarmament and a new world order. The PCI has contacts in Africa and the Mediterranean area, as well as in Eastern Europe, that could be a valuable contribution to pursuit of a joint "Euroleft" policy—if such a thing should ever exist.

All this remains on a leadership level. So far there is no sign of any broad popular movement to stop the arms race. Yet Frank Barnaby, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, said in a recent S.I. bulletin that he was "totally convinced that left to themselves the political leaders will not be able to prevent a nuclear holocaust even though they may sincerely wish to do so."

Barnaby added that he thought it was "reasonable to place some hope in public opinion and I therefore believe that a major task of the Socialist International is to inform the public of where we are going."



## FICTION

## Spooks, thugs, the CIA and a joyride in Jamaica

The Breadfruit Lotteries  
By Richard Elman  
Methuen, \$9.95

By Gene Bell-Villada

Richard Elman is best known as the acerbic sometime commentator on NPR. But he is a pen-and-paper man first. His reportage from Nicaragua enlivened the pages of *The Nation* and in *THESE TIMES* a year or so ago. *Breadfruit Lotteries* is his tenth novel, a leftish spy thriller in the *Our Man in Our Man* in Havana tradition.

The narrator, Robert Harmon, is a middle-aged academic (history, Columbia) who, on a joy ride in Jamaica with a bright lissome graduate student, finds himself accidentally linked with an attempt on President Michael Manley's life—and under police detention. A mulatto top cop named Pullman makes an offer, urges Harmon to bump off one Seixas, a local magnate-cum-CIA operative, promising the prof his freedom in return, and, as a further spur, showing him some fresh photos of that lissome grad student romping quite naked with Seixas himself.

Jealousy and circumstances prompt Harmon, and next day he strangles Seixas right inside the gangster's huge, pseudo-Victorian mansion. Harmon sud-

*The spy-thriller spoof hinges on an assassination plot levelled against president Michael Manley.*



Tom Durcan

denly becomes a folk hero, celebrated in pop song, but the Jamaican legalities still have him trapped. To top it all, Pullman is a Castro agent who wants to spirit the professor off to Cuba. (Most everybody in this book is someone's agent.)

Meanwhile, Harmon finds himself courted by a variety of spooks, thugs and groupies, but he is returned to normalcy by (of all people) the CIA, who get him back into the university's better graces and endow an anonymous chair for him. (Remember those unsavory revelations from Frank Church's committee?) He settles into academic complacency, awing his students, throwing parties for his crowd, and owning a house near the Hamptons, where he writes *The Breadfruit Lotteries*.

Elman's exotic setting, with its tropical palaces and myriad sweet fruits, is people by such Graham Greene types as a gay Irish-Jamaican plantation owner, his nymphomaniacal, gun-toting American-Valkyrian wife, his bookish male lover who happens to be a South African spy, a Cuban-American smoothie who doubles as U.S. Consul and CIA op, Caribbeans of every temperament and color.

The tone is New York-cynical rather than Greene's European weary-wise. In fact the humor

outlook, and references make this very much a New York book. (If I were a Jamaican leftist I don't know if I'd care much for *Breadfruit Lotteries*—but then it's probably not "about" Jamaica at all.) It's hard to resist Elman's multi-sided, polychromatic, rather lengthy sexual intrigues which, though nicely written, do tend to intrude on the political stuff somewhat—too much pleasure and not enough business, as it were. There's something brittle about Elman's over-all plot structure,

and more than one loose end. Of course, this is a modest spoof on a modest genre, and as such it's a bit of a joke, a consistently amusing one at that. The left—even the cynical left—could do with a few more satires and some *Doctor No*'s of its own.

Gene Bell-Villada teaches Latin American literature at Williams College, and is author of the forthcoming *Borges and His Fiction: A Guide to His Mind and Art*.

## CULTURE SHOCK

Tom Greensfelder



**THE TIMES ARE TOUGH ON EVERY-BODY**

A cat therapist has opened business in New York. She makes house calls to emotionally and

physically ailing cats, reports Zodiac.

**BUT IT HITS DIFFERENT ANIMALS DIFFERENTLY**

A special diet has been developed for overweight dogs. Apparently dogs often eat just to please their masters and the masters, according to a veterinarian quoted in the *The New York Times*,

"don't like to be told they have fat dogs."

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From the people who produced the TV series *Lou Grant* and *M\*A\*S\*H*, MTM Enterprises, comes a new series, a melding of the two. *Bureau* will be about the adventures of an aggressive, sardonic correspondent for a wire service in Vietnam.

## CLASSIFIED

## PUBLICATIONS

THE ECONOMY IS UP. The economy is down. Both at the same time! It's time the dismal science, capitalist economics, became the dismissed science. Read *The Socialist Republic*—four issues, \$3.00. Write League for Socialist Reconstruction, Box 80T, New York, NY 10010.

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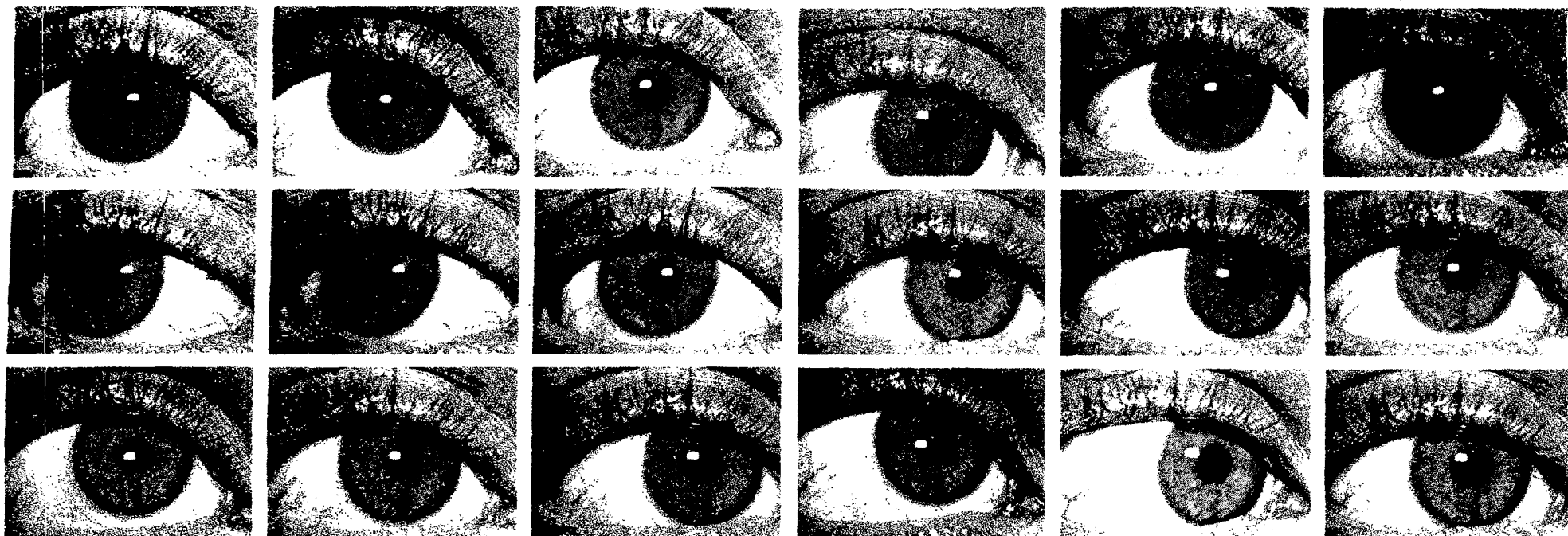
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# RETINAL DIALECTICS

By Richard Appignonesi, with Leonard Quart & Pat Aufderheide

Last week *IN THESE TIMES* printed Part I, "Seeing Red," of this interview with John Berger. Berger—a Marxist critic of the visual arts (*Ways of Seeing*, *The Success and Failure of Picasso*), screenwriter (*Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*) and novelist (*G., Pig Earth*) discussed in Part I the crisis of the fine arts and the teaching of fine arts, the political work of imaginative writing and the cooperative mode of publishing. This week we publish the second and final part of the interview. John Berger is a fellow of the Transnational Institute of the Institute for Policy Studies.

**Why are you critical of photography as a phenomenon of modern life?**

I don't think that I am. I'm critical of the uses to which photography has been put. I think we are so used to seeing photographic images around us that it requires an effort of the imagination to realize how many millions of photographic images surround us.

I very much admired Susan Sontag's book on photography. Not because I agree with everything in it, but because it was the first serious book that took a critical view of the way photographs are used. The seminal, relatively short work was an essay by Walter Benjamin on photography.

It seems to me that photographs *en masse* constitute a kind of vocabulary, references to the world in which we live. Normally photographs are used either in isolation, in single images, or sometimes in picture stories of a few images strung together. But nearly always they are subservient to the text—they are not allowed to speak for themselves.

The possibility of considering photographs as a language, as a vocabulary with which to say something about the world has been largely ignored. So what interests me is to construct whole sentences, perhaps whole chapters, with photographs, with a minimum of words, or without words. This is what Jean Mohr and I have tried to do, and are trying to do in our projected book, *Another Way of Telling*. We tell a quite complex story with a sequence of 150 to 200 photographs. This attempt is very much an experiment. It just concerns one story, one old peasant woman's memories.

Our technique, our reasoning owes a lot to cinema, and particularly to the discoveries about and theories about montage proposed by Eisenstein. At the same time what we are doing is not a poor man's cinema. In cinema the sequence of images is remorselessly propelled forward by the movement of the film and the spectator along with it. The film moves only in one direction, whereas the sequence of photographs hung on the wall or printed in a book allows the reader to go forwards and backwards.

So the viewer can find her or his way,

through and around the sequence of photographs, which is not possible in a film.

**How did your collaboration with Alain Tanner start?**

Twenty-five years ago, I was living in London working as a journalist and art critic, and Alain came over to make his first film, under the auspices of the British Film Institute. It was a film he made with another Swiss director, Claude Goré, a 20 minute short film about Piccadilly Circus in the center of London at night. I saw the film and was very impressed by it, and I met him through a friend, Lindsay Anderson. He used to come by in the evening and have supper

much political difference between us.

**Do you share Tanner's disillusionment with political panaceas?**

I think that description only applies to the last film, to *Jonah*. And *Jonah* was a film about what happened to the generation of '68 during the '70s. It is not possible to take such a theme without a certain re-examination of hopes that, marvelous as they were, in retrospect appeared too facile.

The three films we made together are reflective films. If one thinks of films whose aim is to politically activate, although not in a crude way, one thinks of Godard and especially the later Godard. My own formulation about Godard is

## THE VISION OF JOHN BERGER

### PART TWO

"It's important to question the axioms of our culture—the idea that sexual freedom leads to happiness, for example, or the sacrosanct value of individuality."

with us and we used to talk about poetry and film.

Five or six years later, I was living in Geneva where Alain lived and we used to meet. He made another short film about the architecture of the city of Chandigarh in India built by Corbusier, another Swiss. And he asked me to write the commentary for this film, which I did. Instead of actually writing a descriptive commentary about the architecture, I used quotations—quotations from poets, from political theorists placed in juxtaposition—sometimes ironic, sometimes confirmative, of what was to be seen on the screen.

**Would you describe your and Tanner's films as Marxist?**

I think both Alain and my own attitude to the world is enormously influenced by Marxism. The way we see society and individuals in society is continually illuminated by the Marxist analysis of society and history. And I don't think there is

that he is the great film critic of our time. But unlike most film critics, instead of writing his criticism in words he makes films that are criticisms of film. Alain is a filmmaker, a storyteller. It's a different function.

**Tanner's direction seems marked by a consistent sense of the absurdity of human behavior.**

No. I don't think so. If one thinks, for example, in *La Salamandre*, of that scene in the forest when the two friends suddenly break into an absurd song and dance—it seems to me that is actually a lyrical moment about hope, but also about disappointment. I think hope and disappointment can perfectly well exist together without adding up to absurdity.

One of the great illusions of the left is to believe that everything can always be resolved, that one doesn't actually often have to live perhaps a whole lifetime with contradictions. With the left's impatience about this there is a tendency to say,

when in a story those contradictions are allowed to exist, that one is talking about absurdity. I think one is often just talking realistically and maturely about life.

**Are there contemporary film directors, or contemporary American trends in literature that give you feelings of hope?**

Obviously there are, there must be work, there must be creative projects and enterprises in America that give grounds for hope. I'm not particularly familiar with them, but then I don't follow those developments very closely. The recent American tradition of writing, especially fiction, seems to me to be very autobiographical. It seems to me that the writer is far more interesting and that what he does is of far more value if he is concerned with the experience of other people. This is why I am far more interested in the literature of the Third World, the literature—tragic as it very often is—of Eastern Europe, or of earlier American literature, because obviously what I'm saying would apply to writers as diverse as Jack London or Upton Sinclair or Theodore Dreiser.

**For a person on the left today, who are the enemies?**

American imperialism. I think this is the enemy number one of the modern world. Of course the modes of that imperialism have changed, and one can't any longer separate that from the activities of multinational corporations.

But Russian imperialism—if you give it that name—is of a completely different nature. I do not think that the two "imperialisms" can be equated. The consequences are not the same. In the Eastern Asian part of the Soviet Union, living standards have improved and we intellectuals in the West frequently underestimate the very simple importance of food, housing, medicine.

My position on the lack of freedom of expression in the Soviet Union is also a very strong one. It has led practically to the depoliticization of a people, which is a very, very grave charge to make toward a socialist country. It has led to the despair of many of its writers and artists.

**Does Marxism provide a way out, a future, from our present reality?**

Although I accept Marxism as an invaluable tool for understanding and analyzing the development of capitalism and imperialism, I do not think that Marxism has supplied adequate answers to the future possible development of the world. I think that the area where it has failed is concentrated in the understanding of the peasantry as a class.

Although this probably won't be true very much longer, peasants still make up the majority of people in the world, and Marxism has failed to understand the peasant experience. It has proposed toward that peasant experience an almost automatic belief in progress, reflected in emphasis on heavy industrialization continually growing productivity, the necessity of transforming peasants into a pro-